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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Nazareth, Pa.

VOLUME XII.
PARTS I, II, III, AND IV.

WHITEFIELD HOUSE
NAZARETH, PENNA.
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY
1940

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XII.

Page

ANNUAL MEETING, 1934 3

ANNUAL MEETING, 1935 7

ANNUAL MEETING, 1936 10

IN MEMORIAM 14

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHANN CHRISTOPHER PYRLAEUS..... 18

EXPERIENCES OF THE FIRST AMERICAN MISSIONARY IN EGYPT 26

ANNUAL MEETING, 1937 41

ANNUAL MEETING, 1938 45

IN MEMORIAM 49

THE MORAVIAN MISSION OF PILGERRUH 53

ANNUAL MEETING, 1939 81

IN MEMORIAM 84

JOHN ETTWEIN AND THE MORAVIAN CHURCH DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD 85

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

OCTOBER 4, 1934

The business meeting was called to order by the President, Dr. W. N. Schwarze, at 11:00 A.M. Members present were S. H. Gapp, J. E. Weinland, A. G. Kern, James S. Fry, A. O. Sturgis, H. E. Grosh, F. E. Lennox, F. H. Martin, Walter Crawford, W. H. Milchsack, H. J. Meyers, Miss Adelaide L. Fries, W. E. Henry and G. M. Shultz.

The minutes of the annual meeting of 1933 had been approved by the Executive Committee and reading of them was not called for. Minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee were, with slight corrections, approved.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

The Treasurer, then, presented his annual report of which the following is an abstract, viz.:

Cash on hand, Oct. 1, 1933	$ 607 08
Receipts	1,458 80
	$ 2,065 88
Disbursements	1,730 68
Cash on hand Oct. 4, 1934	$ 335 20

On motion the report was accepted and filed.

COMMITTEE REPORTS.

The Graveyard Committee reported that the inspection of several monuments had shown them to be in good order. Miss Fries proposed the purchase and erection of a suitable marker in Colonial Park, Savannah, Georgia, in memory of those settlers who had died there during the years 1735-1740 inclusive. The concensus of opinion was that the matter be placed in the hands of

the Executive Committee who were given power to act, and to communicate their decision to the Rev. Douglass Rights, Winston-Salem, N. C.

The Librarian reported the illness of Miss Clara A. Beck, head of the Library Committee, conveying her regrets at not being able to be present. The Librarian, further, presented a list of accessions to the museum collections during the past year. The Secretary then announced these names as candidates for membership, viz.: Mrs. Elizabeth E. Hepp, Miss A. Virginia Grosh, Miss Emily Eschbach, Miss Anna K. Miller, Mr. and Mrs. H. C. Seldomridge, Donald Pharo, Gustav Kraemer, Robert E. Clewell, Miss Anna J. Ziegler, Simeon J. Harding, Albert J. Sturgis and Mrs. Warwick Argyle Shaw, all of which were referred to the Executive Committee for approval.

Dr. P. de Schweinitz offered the following resolution for immediate action, and it was adopted. Whereas, The income of the society has been happily increased by the bequest of the late Bro. Eugene A. Rau, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Publication Committee be instructed to publish a pamphlet regularly every year, and that the size of the pamphlet, that is to say, the number of pages, be materially increased, so that each year there may be furnished to the membership of the society an increased amount of historical data concerning the Moravian Church.

On motion of the Brethren Shultz and Gapp the Librarian was instructed to have a cut made of the Whitefield House for Bro. Gustav Winter, of Herrnhut, for insertion in "Das Jahrbuch der Bruedergemeine." Brother Weinland reported that further investigation and excavations at Friedenshuetten (Wyalusing), Pa., were delayed by a pending change of title of the land.

Election of officers for the ensuing year resulted as follows, viz.:—

President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Vice-Presidents, The Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, D.D., the Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D., the Rev. Joseph E. Weinland, D.D., Prof. A. G. Rau, Ph.D., L.H.D., Wm. H. Milchsack, Archibald Johnston, M.E., the Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D., Herbert H. Beck, C. E., Miss Adelaide Fries, Litt.D., Mrs. Elizabeth L. Myers.

Secretary, William E. Henry.

Treasurer, James S. Fry.

Librarian, The Rev. G. M. Shultz.

Publication Committee, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Professor A. G. Rau and Harry J. Meyers.

Board of Managers, Walter Crawford, Albert Brodhead, O Beitel and Wm. E. Henry.

Library Committee, Miss Clara A. Beck, Theodore Kampmann, the Rev. Paul S. Meinert, Andrew G. Kern, Mrs. James S Fry, Mrs. H. B. Marx and J. Frederick Knecht.

Graveyard Committee, Wm. H. Milchsack, Frank H. Martin and A. O. Sturgis.

The usual honoraria were ordered paid to the Librarian, the Secretary, and the Treasurer and the meeting was adjourned.

The Executive Committee met immediately after the business meeting, and elected the nominees of the morning to membership.

VESPER MEETING.

The Vesper meeting was held in the social rooms of the local Moravian Church. Almost two hundred members and their guests sat down at the luncheon tables, after chorale selections had been offered by the trombone choir. The President, after the Vesper meal, announced the names of the members who had departed this life during the past year, viz.:

Mrs. Granville Henry, Miss Lydia H. Stites, Mrs. J. Fred Wolle, Professor Paul E. Beck, Mrs. M. V. Reincke, Miss Louise A. Weitzel, G. Fred Krause, George D. Stocker, Mrs. John G. Diefenderfer, Floyd Bixler. The audience rose and sang a memorial stanza in their memory.

The Secretary announced the status of the membership of the Society as follows:

Life Members	110
Active Members	196
Associate Members	30
Exchanges	35
Total	371

Dr. Schwarze greeted the assembly and presented Miss Adelaide Fries, Litt.D., Winston-Salem, N. C., who read a most interesting and instructive paper on "Early Hymns and Customs" of the Moravian Church.

Dr. A. G. Rau then made a plea for old Moravian music from Lititz, Nazareth, or any of our older congregations. Of course, all this is in manuscript form, and he is compiling this music for future use and reference.

The Rev. Fred R. Nietzschke then presented a volume to the society, "North Queensland, Australia." An invitation was extended to the members and friends to visit the Whitefield House to see the museum and library, and adjournment followed after the singing of a closing hymn.

W. E. HENRY, *Secretary.*

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

OCTOBER 10, 1935

The business meeting convened in the Museum in the Whitefield House at 11:00 A.M., the President, Dr. W. N. Schwarze presiding. Members present were F. E. Lennox, G. M. Shultz, J. S. Fry, A. O. Sturgis, P. S. Meinert, S. C. Albright, Miss Clara Ward, Mr. and Mrs. Horace E. Grosh, and Wm. E. Henry.

The minutes of the last annual meeting had been approved by the Executive Committee. The minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee were read and approved. The Treasurer rendered his annual report of which the following is an abstract, viz:

Cash on hand , Oct. 1, 1934	$ 335 20	
Receipts	1,304 35	
		$ 1,639 55
Disbursements	1,276 23	
Cash on hand as of even date	363 32	
		$ 1,639 55

The report was accepted and filed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The possibility of P. W. A. assistance in placing curb and gutter on the north side of the Whitefield House premises was considered, and, after due deliberation, it was decided to ask government aid in the project. The Society for Propagating the Gospel, owner of the property, is financially unable to have the work done at this time, and since we have occupied the museum for over sixty years, as an appreciation of courtesies shown us, it was decided on motion, that the Moravian Historical Society furnish the amount required by the government and donate the result to the S. P. G. The whole matter was placed in the hands of the Executive Committee.

The committee appointed to examine into the condition of the old Moravian cemetery at Hope, N. J., reported that the grass was being mowed as needed, but that some of the tombstones had been misplaced. After consultation with the caretaker Mr. M. C. Gibbs, it is believed that the whole matter can be attended to for about $50.00 and an annual charge will provide future attention. The matter is to be discussed with the S. P. G. authorities with a view to getting a donation from the Abandoned Graveyard Fund of that Society.

The librarian, then, reported concerning the large number of visitors during the past year, and also told of accessions to both the library and the museum.

Applications for membership came from Robert T. Brown, Leonard Haverly, Rudolf Hommel, Mrs. Wm. C. Grosh, Miss Mabel B Hertz, Donald Pharo, Mrs. J. L. Beaver, J. Seward Titlow, Mr. and Mrs. Aug. H. Fretz, and these were referred to the Executive Committee for action later in the day.

The Treasurer then requested leave to change the system of bookkeeping from the antiquated one to a more modern. The request was unanimously granted if not out of harmony with the demands of our by-laws. He was, also, authorized to pay small current expenses incurred by the Librarian in the conduct of his office. Some small current bills were ordered paid, and the Society ordered the customary honoraria paid the Librarian, the Secretary, and the Treasurer.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

The committee met immediately after the close of the morning business meeting, elected the nominees of the morning session, and adjourned.

VESPER MEETING.

The members and friends of the Society to the number of about one hundred and eighty heeded the call of the trombone choir to assemble for the annual Vesper meeting.

After the Vesper meal, the President announced the names of those members who had departed to their eternal rest during the past year, viz.: John F. Bardill, Mrs. Florence Brockman, Mrs. G. H. Lopp, Emil J. Bishop, Theodore Kampmann, Maurice C. Lucken-

bach, Miss Bertha Schneebeli, Mrs. Wm. Turner, and F. M. Tibbits. The customary memorial hymn was sung, members and guests standing.

The Secretary then announced the present status of the membership of the Society, viz.:

Life Members	104
Active Members	207
Associate Members	30
Exchanges	35
Total	376

After appropriate remarks, the President presented Prof. Herbert H. Beck, President of the Lancaster County Historical Society, and one of our own vice-presidents, who read a paper entitled "Town Regulations of Lititz in 1759.' It was an interesting account of the peculiar and sometimes rather severe methods of dealing with the local inhabitants. Some decidedly humorous (from our point of view,) situations must have occurred in carrying out some of these regulations.

Dr. Charles Herron, of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Omaha, Nebraska, Emeritus Professor of Church History, was presented and paid a fine tribute to the Moravians, both in Herrnhut, where he had met them, as well as here where he and his wife were spending some time among them.

Dr. George H. Allen, of Lafayette College, also, spoke of his appreciation of the Moravians, and emphasized the splendid style of architecture which they generally followed. The guests were invited to the museum and library in the Whitefield House, and also to the Archive building at Bethlehem. After the singing of an appropriate hymn stanza, the President declared the meeting adjourned.

W. E. HENRY, *Secretary.*

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

OCTOBER 29, 1936

The meeting convened in the museum room, Whitefield House, Nazareth, Pa., at 11:00 A.M. Dr. W. N. Schwarze presided. Other members present were H. E. Grosh, Wm. H. Milchsack, G. M. Shultz, Joseph E. Weinland, S. H. Gapp, A. G. Kern, A. O. Sturgis, F. E. Lennox, C. F. Beckel, James S. Fry and W. E. Henry.

The minutes of the annual meeting of 1935 had been approved by the Executive Committee and reading of them was not called for. Minutes of the last Executive Committee meeting were read and approved.

TREASURER'S REPORT

Abstract of Treasurer's report, Oct. 1, 1935, to Oct. 1, 1936.

Cash on hand, Oct. 1. 1935	$ 363 32	
Receipts	8,318 37	
		$ 8,681 69
Disbursements	2,696 28	
		5,985 41
Bonded investments called during the year.		
Bangor Boro	$ 3,420 00	
Federal Land Bank	1,755 00	
Northampton Co. Water Co.	1,500 00	
	$ 6,685 00	
Investments	2,200 00	
		4,485 41
Net income		$ 1,500 41

On motion the report was approved and placed on file.

COMMITTEE REPORTS

The Library Committee report was submitted by the secre-

tary of the committee—the chairman, Miss Clara A. Beck, being unable to be present. After examining a number of unpublished materials on hand, the committee recommended that "The Children of the Nursery," by James Henry, be edited for publication by Bishop J. Taylor Hamilton, if he is willing to do so.

The Librarian then rendered a report of his work during the past year. Aside from routine work, which is constantly increasing, he reported the donation of twenty-four museum pieces and thirty-eight additions to the Library.

The President, chairman of the Publication Committee, gave a resumé of the forthcoming annual publication, and stated that it would soon be ready for distribution.

The President also read a letter from Mr. Charles Wolf, Lebanon, Pa., in which he thankfully acknowledged our donation of $150.00 toward the expense of constructing a passage way into the old Hebron cemetery, at Lebanon.

NEW BUSINESS.

Dr. Joseph E. Weinland reported that he had been able to fix the exact location of the old Indian cemetery near Wyalusing, formerly called Friedenshuetten. The society recommended that Dr. Weinland together with some others proceed with further investigation.

NEW MEMBERS.

The following were then recommended for membership:—Active Members,—Clarence W. Thaeler, Greensboro, N. C., Benjamin L. Miller, Bethlehem, Pa., Elwood H. Seyfried, Nazareth, Pa. Life Members,—Frances Krause Morris, Margaret Morris Jarrett, Matthew Krause Morris and Joseph Cunningham Morris, all of Bethlehem, Pa.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The election of officers for the ensuing year resulted in choice of the following:

President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Vice-Presidents, The Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, D.D., the Rev. S. H. Gapp, D.D., the Rev. Joseph E. Weinland, D.D., the Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D., Prof. H. H. Beck, Ch.E., Albert G. Rau, Ph.D.,

L.H.D., Archibald Johnston, M.E., Wm. H. Milchsack, Miss Adelaide Fries, Litt.D.

Secretary, Wm. E. Henry.

Treasurer, James S. Fry.

Librarian, the Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M.

Publication Committee, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D., A. G. Rau, Ph.D., L.H.D., Harry J. Meyers.

Board of Managers, Walter Crawford, Ph.G., Albert Brodhead, Richard O. Beitel, Wm. E. Henry.

Library Committee, Miss Clara A. Beck, M.A., the Rev. Paul S. Meinert, A.M., J. Frederick Knecht, A.M., Andrew G. Kern, Mrs. James S. Fry, Mrs. H. B. Marx, Geo. W. Hahn.

Graveyard Committee, Wm. H. Milchsack, Frank H. Martin, A. O. Sturgis.

EXECUTIVE COMMITEE MEETING.

This immediately followed the morning business session. The nominees for membership were unanimously elected, and the meeting adjourned.

THE VESPER.

About one hundred and seventy-five members and guests were present. After selections by a trombone choir, they gathered about the tables for the afternoon meeting at 1:15 P.M. After the Vesper meal, Dr. Schwarze announced the names of the members who had departed this life during the past year, viz: The Hon. James M. Beck, Edw. E. Beitel, Dr. Wm. Hamilton, Mrs. J. Upton Myers, Mrs. Thomas W. Shields, Mrs. Charles Kiefer, Prof. Edward Williams and Mrs. Frank I. Klinker, in whose memory the audience rose and sang "They with patience having run their appointed race in hope, etc." The President extended his greetings to the members and friends, and then presented Dr. Albert G. Rau, who read the autobiography of John Christopher Pyrlaeus, one of the prominent ministers in the early history of the Moravian Church in America, some of whose descendants are numbered among our membership today.

Bishop J. Taylor Hamilton was then presented and gave his hearers a graphic account of the life-work and dire experiences of

John Antes, erstwhile missionary in Egypt, who carried the marks of his sufferings at the hands of his persecutors to his grave.

Dr. Paul de Schweinitz briefly called the attention of the gathering to the fact that from 1746 to 1800 at least seventeen men from Pennsylvania had gone into the foreign mission service of the Moravian Church. "Gens Aeterna." After the singing of a closing hymn, the meeting was adjourned.

W. E. HENRY, *Secretary.*

In Memoriam

Mrs. Granville Henry

was born at Bethlehem, Penna., April 4, 1844. She died at Cresson, Penna., April 2, 1934. She joined the Society in 1868.

Miss Lydia H. Stites

was born at Harrisburg, Penna., March 4, 1913. She died at Cresson, Penna., January 10, 1934. She joined the Society in 1916.

Professor Paul E. Beck

was born at Lititz, Penna., June 23, 1871. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., March 9, 1934. He joined the Society in 1921.

Miss Louise Weitzel

was born at Lititz, Penna., December 2, 1869. She died at Lititz, Penna., May 6, 1934. She joined the Society in 1898.

George D. Stocker

was born at Nisky, Penna., April 26, 1870. He died at Nazareth, Penna., June 14, 1934. He joined the Society in 1906.

Mrs. J. Fred Wolle

was born at Hackettstown, New Jersey, June 2, 1864. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., October 2, 1934. She joined the Society in 1893.

Mrs. M. V. Reinke

was born at Bethlehem, Penna., January 26, 1860. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., January 4, 1934. She joined the Society in 1931.

G. Fred Krause

was born at Bethlehem, Penna., July 14, 1873. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., December 13, 1933. He joined the Society in 1892.

Mrs. John G. Diefenderfer

was born at ....., ... She died at ....., ... She joined the Society in 1896.

Floyd Bixler

was born at Easton, Penna., November 16, 1843. He died at Easton, Penna., November 16, 1933. He joined the Society in 1922.

John F. Bardill

was born at Nazareth, Penna., March 5, 1855. He died at Nazareth, Penna., August 1, 1935. He joined the Society in 1887.

Mrs. Florence Brockman

was born at Moravia, Iowa, March 5, 1867. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., March 3, 1935. She joined the Society in 1919.

Mrs. G. H. Lopp

was born at Coveville, Penna., August 1, 1866. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., October 14, 1934. She joined the Society in 1923.

Emil J. Bishop

was born at Bethlehem, Penna., April 20, 1857. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., March 21, 1935. He joined the Society in 1897.

Theodore Kampmann

was born at Bethlehem, Penna., October 31, 1857. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., February 8, 1933. He joined the Society in 1888.

Maurice C. Luckenbach

was born at Bethlehem, Penna., April 30, 1851. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., June 28, 1935. He joined the Society in 1907.

Miss Bertha Schneebeli

was born at Neusalz, Prussia, Germany, March 28, 1859. She died at Nazareth, Penna., April 12, 1935. She joined the Society in 1890.

Mrs. William Turner

was born at Nazareth, Penna., December 12, 1862. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., July 1, 1935. She joined the Society in 1919.

F. M. Tibbits

war born at ....., ... He died at ....., ..., 1935. He joined the Society in 1933.

The Hon. James M. Beck, LL.D.

was born at Philadelphia, Penna., July 9, 1861. He died at Washington, D. C., April 12, 1936. A widely read student of history, he published various books of historical as well as legal value. A great Constitutional lawyer and orator, many of his orations dealt with historical or biographical themes. He served his country in the office of Solicitor General of the United States and as a member of Congress. He joined the Society in 1888.

Edward E. Beitel

was born at Nazareth, Penna., March 13, 1868. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., December 14, 1935. He joined the Society in 1917.

Dr. William Hamilton

was born on the island of St. Thomas, Danish West Indies (now Virgin Islands of the U. S. A.), January 9, 1862. He died at Chevy Chase, Maryland, June 19, 1935. He was for many years, head of the Bureau of Education, Alaska Division, at Washington, D. C. He joined the Society in 1886.

Mrs. J. Upton Myers

was born at Bethlehem, Penna., June 9, 1869. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., January 6, 1936. She was a devoted and capable student of the History of the Moravian Church, particularly, in its local aspects. Her researches led to the publication of numerous pamphlets and articles and a valuable book, "A Century of Moravian Sisters." She joined the Society in 1901.

Mrs. Thomas W. Shields

was born at Gnadenhütten, Ohio, February 10, 1861. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., November 7, 1935. She joined the Society in 1900.

Mrs. Charles Kiefer

was born at Easton, Penna., February 7, 1882. She died at Nazareth, Penna., January 3, 1936. She joined the Society in 1926.

Professor Edward Williams

was born at Proctorsville, Vermont, September 30, 1849. He died at Woodstock, Vermont, November 2, 1933. He joined the Society in 1891.

Mrs. Frank I. Klinker

was born at Bethlehem, Penna., December 7, 1865. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., December 5, 1935. She joined the Society in 1896.

Autobiography of Johann Christopher Pyrlaeus

Translated by Albert G. Rau, Ph.D., L.H.D., LL.D.

As often as I review my life in the quiet of the dear Saviour I see so many tokens of His constant patience, love, and gracious protection that I view with shame my unthankfulness and sink before Him crying:

> Hättest du, O Jesu, dich nicht selber an mich gehangen,
> Ich wäre dich nicht suchen gangen,—etc.

I was born at Pansa, an old village in the Voigtland section of the Duchy of Saxony, under the jurisdiction of Plauen, April 25, 1713, three months after the death of my father. My father was Johann Gottfried Pyrlaeus, and he was head pastor of the Lutheran Church in Pansa, as had been his father and grandfather. He was 32 years old when he died. My mother, Margareta von Gebler, the oldest daughter of Tobias von Gebler of Zeiz, was thus a widow at the age of 26, after a married life of seven years, with three daughters and my birth expected in three months. She was a pious and God-fearing woman who set her hope of salvation on God, loved her children dearly, did everything that love and thoughtfulness could conceive for their care, and remained a widow until her 78th year, dying during Passion Week, 1764.

She trained us carefully, keeping us aloof from other children, and held a watchful eye on our behavior. When we were thoughtless or unruly she wept, and that affected us more than mere reproof. She held regular morning and evening prayer, sang a hymn, read a passage of Scripture, and offered a prayer. My first consciousness of Jesus' sufferings came when we sang:

> Ach Herr lasz mich Gnad' verlangen,
> Gieb mir nicht verdienten Bahn.

I wept, and she, thinking I was sleepy wept also, until she learned that I wept at the meaning of the verses. Then she explained,

from the account, the story of the death of Jesus and how He took all our sins and trespasses on Himself out of inexpressible love, and cancelled them by His bitter death on the Cross.

At my fifth year I went to the state school, and began the study of Latin in my seventh year because everybody insisted that I must prepare myself to take my father's and grandfather's place in the village.

When I was thirteen I went to catechetical instruction and took my first communion on April 22, in a state of holy tremor. At this time I had a definite warning. I was helping another boy ring the great church bell when suddenly the clapper hit my head and threw me over the roof onto the sod below. I was taken home as dead to the great sorrow of my dear mother, but I recovered and the wound in my head healed very soon. The injury was not as long or as painful as those I suffered by reason of the teasing of other and older boys. Following the dictates of my heart I lived in simple and trustful faith, and when I misbehaved or disobeyed I had no rest till I went to my room alone or with one of my sisters and fell at the feet of the Saviour confessing and begging His pardon. Then I felt light of heart. As often as I set myself against the knowledge of sin I was compelled to confess my inability to overcome it alone; therefore I found myself in the condition of soul that I feared the fires of hell and the anger of God. But because I did not wish to be lost I always came back to God anew for forgiveness and help, and to give myself anew to Him. I received, too, much help from the Saviour and a growing certainty that I would not be lost.

In 1728 I went to school at Schlaiz where I stayed five years, studying history, writing, and music very painfully, because, aside from my fear of injury from the many canings I received, I was called strange by my companions, and my schoolmates called me Pietist and made much fun of me.

In June, 1733, I went with 22 others to the University of Leipzig. Four weeks after our arrival there arose a frightful thunder storm, and lightning struck two houses and the tower of the cathedral. I was sore afraid and threw myself at the feet of God begging Him for pardon and for a continuance of my "time of Grace." On my written request I received a ducal stipend of 30 thaler yearly, and in 1734, at the end of the year, free board in the Consis-

torie, for which I was very thankful. I tried, too, by writing and teaching, to earn something toward my expenses.

In April, 1735, the sudden death of a student who sat near me in class gave me a shock and a new resolution to beware of my actions and to concern myself with my salvation. I wished to make friends with someone to whom I could talk freely, and with whom I could have spiritual friendship; but I found none in whom I could have faith until 1737, when I learned to know Simonich Pennen, who, on our first meeting, carried my soul's condition in his heart and concerned himself with my anxieties, the load of sin, the grace of God, and the hope of salvation. He let me talk freely and then said: "My dear Sir, in this way you will get no rest for your troubled soul. You must go to Jesus Christ with the curse of sin, and as a condemned sinner." Thus this man urged me to pray for the grace that comes from the death and sufferings of Christ. Then I read my Testament with new eyes and was encouraged by understanding the truth in a new way, and prayed the Lord to open to me, through His Holy Spirit, this great salvation. Then the certainty of salvation took hold of my soul and I found grace in His blood.

In September of the same year Brother Martin Dober came to Leipzig on his way to Jena. My frank talks with him and his sympathetic attitude toward my errors and doubts gave me a deep sense of blessing. On his return from Jena he told me of the awakening and conversion of the students there, and invited me to visit them. On October 13th I journeyed to Jena with a student named Peitz, whom I loved, and we were received and entertained with the deepest affection. We had heart-seaching talks with the Brethren Johannis (de Watteville), Molther, Lauterbach, and others who met at the home of Dr. Bruckhart, and these moved my heart and filled me with blessing. In February, 1738, the Holy Spirit uncovered the wickedness of my heart and my enmity to Jesus so clearly that I looked to Him to heal me of my sins, and threw myself at His feet with tears to beg forgiveness. He gave me His grace and absolution and peace of heart, so that I stood a new man of faith before Him. At Leipzig I had gone but once to the Lord's Supper because I had felt unworthy; but now, on March 23, I celebrated it with six other brethren in St. John's Church to the great strengthening of my faith. Some days after I

received a call from the Countess of Gersdorff to be resident preacher of Obermeise. The call had no attractions for me and my dear friend, Brother Poulter, also, did not advise it. In April I had blessed days with my unseen but ever near Saviour during the Passion Week. On the 13th of April we had a farewell love-feast for Brother Adolph von Marschall, who some days later took leave for Berlin, and then on May 13th I started, with a few Leipzig and Jena students, on a visit to Herrnhut. I cannot relate with what happiness, wonder, and comfort I enjoyed the meetings in the Saal, and the friendly intercourse in the families. The thought was always in my heart: "To these godly people you belong, and there you must live and remain,for away from them you are lost."

I had the heartfelt sense that the Saviour would find a place for me as I wished, and therefore on June 1st I went back, with two brethren, to Leipzig where we arrived on the 5th early and thankful. In July these two brethren and I accompanied Brother Johannis (de Watteville), who had come from Jena, on a second visit to Herrnhut and for eight days enjoyed much blessing and awakening.

In October we were ordered to Lauban to teach the children of the "awakened" people there. This call I looked upon as direct from the Saviour and I started at once, but first travelled into Voigtland to see my relatives and my dear mother. This visit of course led to painful love and tears on the part of us both, and it was the last time that I saw her. On November 15th I gave a lovefeast to the brethren in Leipzig who sent me forward with blessings and good wishes. On the 20th I reached Herrnhut and on the 26th came to Lauban. The Saviour gave me grace not only to reach the children but also to speak the Word. I had pleasant intercourse with the unmarried brethren there and went every prayer day with some of them to Herrnhut, and on May 24, 1739, we went there to the Lord's Supper. On the 28th we were summoned to the Rath Haus at Lauban, and on the 29th we were examined before City Council, our meetings were discussed and we were bidden not to follow the "Herrnhut methods," or to get out of the city. I learned, also, later, that they had come, toward evening, to my lodgings to conscript me into the army.

All of this moved the Brethren to order me to go to Herrnhut for the prayer day, May 30th. This I did, and the Lauban brethren

who accompanied me told how the police had searched for me at my lodgings at 10 o'clock that night. The Conference did not think it advisable that I should return and thus it came about that I stayed in Herrnhut. On June 22nd I was present at the corner-stone laying of the first Single Brethren's House. On July 11th I enjoyed the Lord's Supper with the congregation, having been confirmed, during the preparatory morning service at 9 o'clock by Brother Jacob Rilly to my great shame and everlasting blessing.

On November 5th, 1739, I was enrolled among the hourly intercessors, was made teacher of the boys, and was used in the affairs of the village. I preached at Berthelsdorf, held children's meetings, and prayer days. In short I was satisfied with everything that was done with me.

In July, 1740, I was called to Marienborn, and reached there August 5th, and the same afternoon I went to Herrnhaag with Brother Johannis (de Watteville) where we learned to my no little joy that I should enjoy the Lord's Supper with the congregation on the next day. Some days later the "Blessed Apostle" (Zinzendorf) spoke to me and I saw him for the first time "with wonder and love." I was made acolyte on August 20th and chosen by lot to go to Pennsylvania as messenger to the Indians some days later. On March 1st, 1741, I journeyed for this purpose to Holland, and on the 29th by ship from Rotterdam to London where I arrived April 5th. Thence I started, July 30th, and reached New York on October 19th, and on October 26th I greeted the brethren at the town later called Bethlehem. The "blessed apostle" who, with his party, had reached Philadelphia December 3rd, came to us on the 21st, held a Communion on the 23rd, and on the 24th at the Watch Service named the place Bethlehem. On February 22, 1742, Christian Henry Rauch and I were ordained at the Oley Synod by Zinzendorf, David Nitschmann and Anton Seyffert. On the evening of this "solemn day of grace and blessing" Christian H. Rauch baptised the first three Indians.

On July 10th I was married, at Bethlehem, to Susanna, the youngest daughter of Stephen Benezet, a merchant of Philadelphia, her father being present, and with him we journeyed to Philadelphia, where I was to be assistant to Zinzendorf.

(His wife was born at Wandsworth, England, August 2, 1717. Benezet was a Huguenot merchant who fled to London after the

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. To be with godly people he moved to Philadelphia, "to guard the raising of his family in Christ." He was much loved and trusted by all who knew him. In 1740 George Whitefield lived in his family, and Spangenberg, Anna Caritas, and Anna Molther stayed in his home. When Zinzendorf came he was entertained as "an Angel of God." All of his daughters married members of the Brethren's Church and "the youngest, Susanna, was offered to me and I took her from the hand of the Saviour, obediently and willingly, when I was made certain that my call to the service of the heathen would not be altered thereby.")*

On Sunday, July 29th, when the Gospel was "Jesus wept o'er the city, etc.," before the sermon was started, a mob of angry Reformed members of the congregation, some drunk, dragged me out of the pulpit with much clamor and profanity ("and dragged me into the street, themselves taking possession of the building. The Lutherans and some other devout people having gathered around me in the street to protect me against further insult and injury, now went with me to my lodgings, where I delivered the sermon, and here we met frequently, afterward, undisturbed.")*

On September 10th (through the efforts of Zinzendorf), the cornerstone of a chapel was laid, and on November 25th it was consecrated. Here I officiated as minister until January 12, 1743 when, agreeably to the Count's orders, we journeyed to Tulpehocken to visit Conrad Weiser, the Mohawk Indian interpreter, to learn the Indian language and to teach his children. Three months later, with my wife, I started on a trip to the Maqua country to live with them in order to perfect my knowledge of their language, and partly to ascertain the possibility of having the Brethren do service among them. When we were at Shekomeko, the Mohican Indian congregation, and were on the point of visiting Pachgatgoch and the workers there, Martin Mack, Joseph Shaw and I were, at the instigation of certain jealous preachers, arrested on June 17th and brought before the Governor of Connecticut at New Milford, and there we had our opportunity to bear witness to our faith in God's Salvation. The Governor examined us before the Council concerning the accusation which was: "That we lived among the Indians." This their preachers confirmed. When we were dismissed, on June 27th, we went back to our

brethren in Shekomeko, and on July 4th my wife and I began the journey to the Mohawk country by way of Albany and Schenectady, and reached Canajohari, where we lodged, opposite to the Indian town, with a family of very poor white people. (The miserable hut of these poverty stricken Germans was her introduction to the service of the Lord—"Denn es ging äusserlich kümmerlich zu." I tried to make her Pilgrim life as light as possible. But when I returned from a Conference at Shekomeko in August she had been poisoned in the woods and was horribly swollen all over her body, though it was then improving. With Anton Seyffert I visited the Indian villages in the neighborhood and attempted to go to Onondago. In this plan we were frustrated, at the last *European* house, by a chief of the nation, partly by advice, partly by warning and threats, and so the Lord prevented us from the trip. Then we returned to Canajohari and made ready to go to Pennsylvania where we arrived after many dangers and difficulties on September 3rd. Here I taught six brethren and six sisters the Maqua tongue (one of them was D. Zeisberger) and also the habits and customs of the whites and the Indians. (Next we served the church at Philadelphia, for four years, and then in August, 1747, we went to the Indian congregation at Gnadenhuetten. My wife stayed with me here only a short time and then returned to Bethlehem where the arrival of Brother Johannis and his Benigna gave her great joy because "we were very fond of each other." Late in 1749 we went to take charge of the Boy's School at Fredericks-town (home of Henry Antes) where, in February, 1750, I was attacked by frightful headaches and a serious carbuncle, and was under the surgeon's hands until September, when we returned to Bethlehem, though I was not cured until February, 1751).*

In October, 1751, Brother John Nitschmann told me that I had a call to Germany and we started with him and his party in December, from New York, leaving our three young children (one only a year old) in the care of the Congregation, though not without pain of heart. We arrived at the "Juengerhaus" at Westminster (in February, 1752,) and enjoyed much comfort and blessing until July when, our journey to Germany having been postponed, and because I understood the English language, I was placed in the Yorkshire congregation. In January, 1754, we were at Chelsea and it was proposed that we should return to Pennsylvania. The

condition of my wife's health, however, made this impossible, and so we remained in England and were sent successively to different places in the service of Salvation. Sometimes I was alone, as preacher, and sometimes with my wife we were sent to congregations and to places with scattered members. (Thus we were at Lambsacre (1754), Gommersal, Fulneck (1759), Dudley, Wyke, Kingswood, and Bristol, and from 1765 to 1767 I was one of the Provincial Elders).* After the General Synod of 1769 I had my call to leave England. Not without sorrow we left Fulneck in April, 1770, after bidding farewell to the three children God had given during our stay in England, went to London, then to Hull, and thence to Altona. We came to Barby June 13th, and on June 17th to Gnadau, where, for a time, we were to tarry. In April, 1771, we received permission to visit Herrnhut and reached that "City of God" to our great blessing and happiness on the 26th.

Both of us were overjoyed when, unexpectedly, it was the will of our gracious Lord and Saviour that we might remain while I did work, after my poor ability, such as might be assigned to me. On October 8, 1779, it pleased my dear Saviour to make me a widower, even though He Himself consoled and comforted me. My dear wife had, before her death, been permitted the happiness to see about her the three children from England. I am still here in this valley of sorrows, but my soul awaits the call of my Saviour that it may follow her into eternal rest. (Written May, 1782.)

J. C. Pyrlaeus died May, 1785.

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*Statements included in parentheses are taken from the autobiography of Susanna (m. n. Benezet) Pyrlaeus, the wife of J. C. Pyrlaeus.

Experiences of the First American Missionary in Egypt

By Bishop J. Taylor Hamilton, D.D., L.H.D.

Near the close of his memorable visit to Pennsylvania Count Zinzendorf went to Frederick in Montgomery Co., to say farewell to his friend and fellow-worker in the cause of evangelical union, Henry Antes, the well-known builder of mill-wheels and grist mills. Before leaving the Count asked his friend to present his children to him, that he might lay his hands on them in blessing. He specially singled out little John, not yet three years old, and commended the little fellow to the particular grace of our Saviour, Whom he besought to be the child's life-long guide and guardian.

John was born on March 24, 1740. But he had not yet been baptized, for his father's pastor, who was at outs with him because of a rebuke imparted by the pious layman, had refused to administer the sacrament. It was not till he was six years old, and after his father had identified himself with the Moravians, that this omission was made good at the hands of Spangenberg.

Young John Antes received his first schooling in the home of his birth, for quite a while before his baptism his father had lent his house for a school for about forty boys, in charge of Pyrlaeus and other Moravian instructors. When he became twelve his father yielded to the wish of the lad, and enrolled him among the boys of Bethlehem, where he arrived on May 12, 1752. At this time his father was in poor health. It was in the fall of this same year that Spangenberg carried out his commission to proceed with a small company of Brethren to the wilderness of North Carolina and search for large tract suitable for settlements of the Brethren. By that time Henry Antes had measurably recovered and let nothing deter him from accompanying his friend on the venturesome and arduous undertaking. He did return safely to Pennsylvania; but the severe winter in the wilderness and the after-results of an accident left their mark on his constitution. Two summers later, in July, 1755, he ended his useful career. Amongst his last requests was one made to his friend, Bishop Spangenberg, that the latter would take the place of a father to his

fifteen year old boy—a request that was loyally fulfilled. In late life John Antes testified with gratitude that the trust had been most faithfully discharged.

Young John had always been a thoughtful, earnest boy. Through the counsels of Spangenberg he found personal assurance of salvation in Christ, and he was confirmed on the festival day of the unmarried men in August, 1757, and was admitted to the Lord's Supper for the first time. By word and deed and through the influence of his character and his consistent life, he became an instrument for deepening the religious life of his companions. Quite naturally, when he came of age, the authorities of the Bethlehem congregation gave him charge of a group of older boys.

Now his relatives did all they could to draw him away from Bethlehem and the Moravians. But he resisted every such effort, and confided to Spangenberg his desire to serve the Church in some capacity. Shortly before his adopted father left to follow his own call to leadership in Europe, Antes was therefore received as an acolyte, in connection with the anniversary of the congregation, June 25, 1762. This was a public consecration of himself to be as it were an unordained assistant minister. As such he was directed to accompany the Christian Indians from Philadelphia to New York in January, 1764. When they were ordered back from Amboy, Antes returned to his duties in Bethlehem. But soon afterwards Bishop Spangenberg sent him an official summons to Europe. This call he gladly followed, and for about a year he was employed in various capacities in Herrnhut.

Now the Brethren in that era were wont to study the natural gifts of their young men. It was important to develop these especially in the case of a prospective missionary, for such messengers of the church then received no salary but worked for their own support. John Antes had plainly inherited mechanical ability from his father. So he was sent to Neuwied on the Rhine to learn watch-making under a master with a wide reputation. Four years of apprenticeship followed, and then came the long desired call to a mission-field.

Already before the fifties the thoughts of Count Zinzendorf had been turned to various lands of the Orient with a view to be helpful to remnants of old Christian communities, whose candlestick had been almost removed in the early centuries of the advance

of Islam. Among the rest he had contemplated the condition of the Coptic Church, enjoying liberty in Abyssinia, and tolerated under oppressive conditions among the non-Arabic remnants of the original people of Egypt. This Coptic Church had separated from the orthodox Greek Church in the fifth century, owing to disagreements on abstruse points of dogma connected with attempts to define the relation of the divine and human in the person of our Saviour. It was a Church that had not been helpfully touched by the Reformation of the Fifteenth Century; its inner life had become benumbed in its isolation by the decay of true Biblical study and its usages of worship were in danger of being fossilized into almost dead ceremonial formalism. The instructions given by Zinzendorf, and after his death by the leaders of the Brethren's Church, directed the missionaries sent to the Copts (members of the Culdee Church) to avoid mere intellectual discussions about dogma and ceremonial, and to shun any attempt to found Moravian congregations, but to seek to promote vital Christian faith and life among their membership and priesthood.

In the same year in which John Antes had been enrolled among the boys of our Bethlehem Frederick William Hocker, a physician of our Church in Europe, was sent to Abyssinia, but political disturbances and something like civil war there had hindered his getting any farther than Egypt, which he had visited before in connection with an attempt to go to Persia as a missionary, with a fellow physician, Rueffer, who had died from the hardships of the journey. Twice since then he had renewed the effort, but had not been able to reach Abyssinia owing to circumstances beyond his control. Now in the latter part of 1768 the leaders of our Church bade him try once more, and gave him as co-workers John Henry Danke, a cabinet-maker, and our John Antes. The last-named received his call on Jan. 16, 1769, with instructions to join Hocker and Danke in Cairo, whither they had preceded him. The text for the day, "Who will go for us?" was regarded by him as a direct call from the Lord. His ordination took place on the 23rd of the same month. Then he went to London to seek a ship bound for the Levant. After some delay he secured passage on one bound for Cyprus. Near the coast of Portugal an Algerian pirate ship pursued the British merchantman, but sheered off after the Union Jack was hoisted.

Larnica in Cyprus was reached on Nov. 24; but it seemed at first that Antes would get no farther. Such disturbances were reported as taking place in Egypt, that no vessel would leave for Alexandria.

However God watched over His servant. The British Consul at Larnica invited Antes to be his guest, and during the few weeks of his stay there the young missionary had opportunity enough to be helpful, for his consistent life and bold showing of his colors made an impression—not least of all on the Anglican chaplain of the Consul. But Larnica lived up to the evil reputation of its climate for fevers. Before a month was round all living at the consulate, including Antes, were taken down with illness. At Christmas our missionary seemed in a hopeless state; he could neither eat nor drink. But then he began to mend. And soon after, when he heard that a Venetian ship, Egypt-bound, might soon leave from Limasol, more than fifty miles away, he sent a messenger to see if he might get passage on her. The reply was favorable, but was coupled with the word that no time dare be lost in reaching Limasol. When the Consul saw he was determined to go in spite of weakness, and knew also that the man sent him from Limasol as a guide could speak only Greek of which Antes was ignorant, he lent him one of his own men who could speak Italian, which our brother knew to some extent. At the same time the Consul warned him, that the two men were such a precious pair of rascals, that they would not hesitate to murder their own parents if they thought to gain anything by it. So Antes loaded two pistols before their eyes and took them along to show these fellows that he would defend himself if attacked.

They left Larnica towards evening, Antes and one of the men riding mules, and the other man leading another mule, packed with the missionary's effects. Soon it became dark, and a violent thunder-storm broke over them. Antes had on rather thin clothing; so he took the mule's blanket that lay across the saddle and threw it over his own head. Meantime the storm raged fearfully. About midnight he became aware that he could no longer hear the hoof-beats of the other animals. And when he uncovered his head, he found himself entirely alone. His men had deserted him. So he dismounted and placed some of his things on the ground, and then tied his horse to a sapling beside the path. But it took

fright, broke loose and ran away. Now what to do in the woods of an unknown and seemingly uninhabited region? But just as hope of help was almost gone, a man seated on an animal emerged out of the darkness. It was the Greek-speaking guide. They could not make one another mutually understood. But the man was not quite the rascal he had been pictured by the Consul. He led the way to a hut where they found some sort of shelter till morning.

Late next evening they reached Limasol, Antes in a very weak state, as may be understood. It now appeared that his other man had run off with the pack-mule, and had sold it and its burden, and had then become drunk with the proceeds. The Greek merchant who did duty as British Consul at this place had the fellow arrested, and most of the things except clothing were recovered. Exposure induced a return of the fever for Antes, and it was well for him that the high seas, that followed the storm, kept the ship for Egypt in port for a week. However in time he reached Alexandria, and the better in health for the voyage. On landing he presented a letter of recommendation from the British Consul in Larnica to the Italian Consul here, and the latter put at his temporary service for the passage to Rosetta in an open boat an Egyptian soldier who understood some Italian. At Rosetta this man found him a covered Nile boat, destined for Cairo. But that did not leave for almost a week. Antes was at his wits end for lodgings here in Rosetta, for he had no recommendation to any European here. But towards evening, as he was making his way to the covered boat to which his mattress had been brought, a perfect stranger met him and told him that he had ordered lodging for him in the monastery of Terra Santa. Here the monks received him most kindly and kept him for six days till his boat left for Cairo.

Usually such a Nile boat made Cairo from Rosetta in four or at the utmost in six days, and (for that length of time) his guide had laid in for him sufficient provisions. But owing to contrary winds and heavy rains the poor man had to spend eighteen days on this boat. His bedding was soaked by the rain, and grew mouldy. His provisions were spoilt, and he was reduced to the bread of the Arabs made out of rice-flour, bad in quality and taste.

But by way of compensation the starvation cure proved good against fever.

At last on February 10 the boat tied up in the harbor of Cairo. And here Antes was received with open arms by his future colleagues Hocker and Danke. The last named soon left the city for a tour of evangelization in Upper Egypt. Hocker's medical skill proved of utmost value. For although fever recurred a number of times, by November Antes felt thoroughly acclimated, and from that time on he was free from fever for the years of his stay in Egypt. As a skilled watch-maker he could contribute to the support of the mission by his earnings, just as the physician and the cabinet-maker did by their respective means of winning a livelihood. No salary, no stated financial aid could be expected from the Church at home.

In April, 1771, their evangelistic efforts in Cairo were interrupted by an outbreak of the plague, and for two months Antes was practically a prisoner, quarantined in their hired house. Through the years that preceded and followed this Hocker enjoyed a reputation as a skilful physician. His services were in demand amongst the rest in the household of Ali Bey, who was at that time practically dictator in Lower Egypt. But great risks were involved in being linked in any way with the head of any faction in this land. When Ali Bey was defeated by his rival, Mohammed Bey, and the latter entered Cairo, the house of the missionaries was regarded as a very legitimate object of plunder.

On the other hand the services of Hocker were also sought by high officials of the Greek and Coptic Churches.

However his activity was not confined to work we usually associate with that of the medical missionary. A master of Arabic, he translated a number of Zinzendorf's sermons into that language, the speech of Egypt at large, and these were placed in the hands of his colleagues, and of seekers after truth who could read for themselves or read aloud to groups of those interested. A man of the latter sort, for instance, was Michael Baschara, the mayor of the Coptic village of Behnesse, four days journey up the Nile, and a friend of Danke, whose chief activity was centered there.

But alas Danke died of fever in Cairo in October, 1772, not, however, without having proven helpful in bringing gospel light and life to members of the Coptic Church and to some of their

priests in Behnesse and vicinity. One wonders whether his usefulness was not cut short by the conditions under which he lived in that Coptic village. Antes described the house of Danke as consisting of one room, twelve feet by ten, formed by two walls of earth that joined together the outside walls of two neighboring houses. The floor of this room was strewn with corn-stalks as its only covering —and scorpions and various insects abounded. Yet Danke never mentioned them in his letters, and was quite content and happy in his poor lodging. These humble quarters Antes shared with him when be visited Behnesse.

Though Danke founded no congregation of evangelical believers either in this village or in the circuit of hamlets visited by him, it cannot be justly said that his labors were fruitless. Many Copts visited him in his poor home to be led by him to trust in something better than fastings and other usages devised of men and in the ritualistic ceremonies that had constituted so large a part of their religion. As said before the mayor of the place, Michael Baschara, had become a seeker after personal assurance of salvation in Christ. With quite a number of Coptic priests and with their bishop Danke enjoyed friendly intercourse, and had converse about the deeper things of life, and won their esteem after they understood that it was not his purpose to try to make proselytes for his own particular Church, but to promote consistency of character and life and to deepen and render more intelligent the devotion of professed followers of Christ. When he returned to Cairo and sought help, too late, from his friend, Dr. Hocker, and death ended his testimony, at the early age of 38, the Greek Patriarch willingly gave his consent to the burial of faithful Danke in a vault of the Church of St. George in Old Cairo. (Gemein Nachrichten 1822, Heft 6.)

All this while the Brethren in Egypt had been regarding Abyssinia as their real objective. For them the stay in Cairo was only temporary and preparatory to the advance into the hill country to the south. But about three months after the death or Danke, that is in January, 1773, they received information of a very discouraging nature. In that month they learnt to know James Bruce, the Scotch explorer of the sources of the Nile, who had just returned to Egypt after a stay of four years in Abyssinia. That land at that day was almost a terra incognita so far as Euro-

peans were concerned, owing to the fierce jealousy with which its inhabitants, suspicious of all foreigners, sought to maintain its independence. Within its borders tribal feuds and the turbulent ambitions of rival chieftains constantly kept the people in a ferment of civil wars; but all factions were united in one and the same determination to keep intruding strangers at a distance, whilst their own nominal Christianity rendered them bitter foes of the Mohammedan Arabs and Egyptians. Bruce, who had previous African explorations to his credit had come thither armed with letters from an influential Coptic ecclesiastic and from officials of the Greek Church, had been fortunate in winning the friendship of a powerful chief, Ras Michael, by curing a child of this man and also a son of the Queen-mother, of small-pox. But after Ras Michael and his faction had suffered defeat, Bruce had been forced to leave Abyssinia. Now he protested to Hocker and Antes that it would be utterly useless for them to try to penetrate into Abyssinia in order to try to do any gospel work among the Copts there. The hate of the Abyssinians for all Europeans and especially for foreign priests was so great, that they would stone them to death, as soon as they opened their mouths. This was substantiated by other Europeans in Cairo who professed some knowledge of Abyssinia.

To add to their troubles right here in Cairo such a ferment of excitement now broke out, that it was hardly safe for them to be seen on the street. Indeed Antes was once set upon and beaten by the mob. War was being waged between Russia and Turkey, and Egypt was a dependancy of the latter. Something like anarchy followed, for certain chieftains of the Mamelukes thought this a good opportunity to throw off the Turkish yoke. For a time the Consuls of the various European powers were withdrawn. Under these circumstances it seemed prudent to leave Cairo for Behnesse, the former sphere of Danke's activity. They were cordially welcomed by the people of the Coptic village; indeed from now on until he left Egypt Antes used to annually spend some time here, regretting only to have to admit that the lives of these friends might have shown more of the influence of the Gospel.

After things had quieted down somewhat in this year 1773, residence in Cairo was resumed, to be again broken by a trip of

Antes to Alexandria in order to meet and welcome re-enforcements that had been sent out—Henry G. Weininger, whom Antes in due time inducted at Behnesse as Danke's sucsessor, and Augustin Gottlob Roller, a physician, who had volunteered from Herrnhut itself, and to whom the thought of medical missionary work in Abyssinia had powerfully appealed. Though now fully aware of the difficulties and dangers sure to attend such an attempt, he was willing to try to penetrate into the forbidden land in spite of everything, at the risk of death itself. An absolute condition of making this advance was a prior acquisition of Arabic to at least a working knowledge of that tongue. This Roller found a very very hard task, for he was already forty-five years of age. But it was not the will of God that his wish should be realized. Fever ended his career in Cairo after scarcely four years of life as a missionary and his poor body was laid beside the bodies of Danke and Hermann, another of his co-workers hardly twenty-five years of age, who had been drowned in the Nile that same year, 1778, after a very short working day in Egypt.

Meantime both Hocker and Antes had been loyally and faithfully attentive to their duties but without many visible tokens of success attending their efforts to evangelize. The baptism of a Mohammedan would have been permitted under no circumstances. And hopelessly dead formalism seemed to characterize the life of the Greek and Coptic Christians, who were satisfied that they lacked nothing.

Now in the year after the deaths of Hermann and Roller came the supreme test of the faith and courage of John Antes.

The lodging of the Brethren was situated in an outlying district of Cairo not far from a large canal. During the half year from October onwards the fields nearby were often flooded, and conditions became rather unhealthy. For the sake of exercise Antes would at times take his gun to the swamps that teemed with bird-life. Hunting was free to everybody. But one risk had to be reckoned with. Egyptian officials out with their retainers for like sport would not hesitate to have any European seized and held for ransom.

On the evening of Nov. 15, Antes who had been out hunting with the secretary of the Venetian embassy, was captured just

before sunset by Mamelukes belonging to the troops of Osman Bey, the commandant of on outlying fort of Cairo. He and his companion were stripped of their outer garments and of everything on their persons that had value. The rascals threw away the purse of Antes with contempt after emptying it of its few silver coins, and demanded one hundred Turkish zechimes. "Dahab, Dahab," they shouted—"Gold, gold." When told that they carried no high sum of money with them, but that Antes would give them some gold if they came home with him, they cursed and threatened him. Then they bade him go home and get his gold for them. Meanwhile they would keep his companion as a hostage. "If you do not come back, we will cut off his head." The poor Venetian did not understand Arabic, but took in that the situation was a terrible one, and lamented and pleaded. So Antes proposed that they should let the Venetian go for the ransom-money, and keep himself as the hostage. But his friend had scarcely set off for the town, when the rascals fell on Antes and began to beat him and literally stripped him almost naked. Meantime the sun set and it grew dark. So one of them rode off to report to Osman Bey that they had seized a stranger from whom money was to be had. Two of the men took him between their horses and so dragged him away to their chief. When they reached Osman Bey, Antes addressed to him in greeting that was usual: "I am under your protection." If no evil was intended, the reply would be, "You are heartily welcomed by me." But instead there came a rude "Who are you?" "I am an Englishman." "What are you doing here at night? You must be the thief, who has been guilty of robberies lately." "No. I was just on my way to the gate of the city, when your men seized me. Now indeed it is dark. But it is not an hour since sun-set, when the city-gate is closed."

Without another word the Bey motioned to his men to take Antes to the fort near to, but outside, the city. Some of his men kicked their prisoner. One spat in his face. Another threw a rope round his neck. And so they draggd him off. They put him in an underground dungeon, and fastened him to a block of wood by means of an iron chain around his neck. A drink of water was his only supper. Paper and pen and ink were refused, when he asked that he might communicate with his friends. His undergarments had been returned to him; but he began to suffer from

the cold. About half an hour later Osman Bey had his prisoner brought before him in an upper room. In reply to his first question Antes said as before, "I am an Englishman." "What is your business?" "I live on that which God bestows on me,"—a customary Arabic phrase, "and what evil have I done?" "What, you dog, do you dare ask me what you have done!" Then to his men, "Down with him." They threw Antes face down on a strip of carpet, fastened his feet above the ankles to a log of wood about six feet long, and by means of chains at either end of it turned his feet up so that the bare soles were uppermost. Two men held whips or leather straps of hippopotamus hide thicker than a man's finger, and very tough and very hard. There was a moment of suspense as they awaited further orders. Then an officer stepped up to Antes and whispered to him, "Don't let it come to blows. Offer a thousand dollars, and you will be let free."

Antes writes "I thought, if I offer any sum for my ransom, Osman Bey will send men to my home with me to get it, and I shall have to open in their presence the large chest, where I keep not only my own cash but considerable sums placed in my care by others who confide in my honesty" Resolved that no one should share in misfortunes, he said "I can give no money." The bastinado proceeded more savagely than before. Antes gave himself up for lost; for he knew he was at mercy of a cruel tyrant, and could not expect better treatment than that given to other victims of Osman Bey's mad fury. Yet he testifies, that when he had committed himself to the mercy of God, fear of death left him. After many blows had rained down, the same officer who had tried to prompt him previously again approached. This time he doubled the sum demanded, thinking that torture would have made him more pliable. But Antes replied as before. Now the executioners were pitiless. Their blows rained down savagely. It was as if red-hot iron had been applied to his feet. A third time they were ordered to pause, and the officer came with the suggestion, that if Antes had no cash, other valuables might do in place. It occurred to him that he had a fine gem, of English make, and he offered that. But when this was scornfully reported to Osman Bey, he shouted out,—"Smite the dog." The bastinado was renewed. At last the cruel captor saw he could press nothing out of his victim. And he knew well enough that he could not justify

this treatment of an innocent man. So he ordered the servants to cease.

Antes was carried back to his dungeon, and was chained as before. When he asked the purpose of his being chained, since it was plainly impossible for him to escape, the men shrugged their shoulders, and said, those were their orders.

But after about half an hour they came back, declaring they had to bring him upstairs again. Now poor Antes wondered, "Am I to be tortured till I die?"

When he came again into the presence of the Bey, the latter turned to one of his officers and asked, "Is this the man about whom you have spoken to me?" The man stepped up to the prisoner, stared in his face, and then threw up his hands, "Yea, verily, it is he. He is the best man in all Cairo and my very particular friend! O how sorry I am, I was not here in time to say this!" "Then take him. I give him to you. See that he gets back what was taken from him."

Now Antes was certain that he had never seen this man in his life, and at once suspected a plot to get something from him by trickery.

His fictitious friend took him to his house, some distance away, saw to it that food was set before him, and gave him a room with a tolerably comfortable bed, a great relief as he was cold for not all his clothing had been returned to him. When Antes in the course of conversation asked the man, if the treatment he had received at the hands of Osman Bey was a good sample of boasted Egyptian hospitality, the man's explanation was: "It all came from God. It was all written in the book of fate!"

That night pain drove sleep away from poor Antes.

Next morning his host asked him if he knew the chief custom-house inspector of Cairo. Antes replied that he not only knew him very well, but that he was one of his close friends. So the man had our missionary placed on a donkey, and himself together with a guard of soldiers escorted him to this man who was a real friend.

When the custom-house officer saw Antes, he was shocked at his state, his poor feet being merely bound in rags. Antes asked him to satisfy the demands of his fictitious friend and of the latter's

men. His real friend willingly advanced the twenty pounds sterling that they required. And then this real friend directed servants of his own to see the missionary safely to his hired home.

For six weeks the poor man had to keep to his bed. For three whole years his feet and ankles would often swell and cause him great pain.

In June, 1780, three new missionaries came out as re-enforcements. In 1781 the plague again broke out in Cairo, and in the city and its vicinity it was esitmated there were 50,000 fatal cases.

In the latter part of that year, 1781, a call came to Antes to return to Europe in order to report about the work to the General Synod of the Church, which was to be convened at Berthelsdorf during the next summer. He left Cairo two days before Christmas, after a stay of twelve years there. But a ship could not be found to Alexandria for several weeks, and the voyage was so stormy, that Livorno was not made till March 19, and no one was permitted to land till after a full month of quarantine, on account of the plague in Egypt. Traveling via Bologna, Venice, Trieste and Vienna, Antes did not arrive at Herrnhut till May 20. The Synod convened in summer, and before its close the news reached him of the death of his friend Dr. Hocker, in Cairo, in the seventieth year of his age. Needless to say, the Synod resolved on the close of the hopeless mission.

After a couple of years service in Neuwied as elder of the Unmarried Men, Antes was transferred to England. Here in June, 1785, at the age of forty-five he married Susanna Crabtree. With her he served in Fulneck, where he was warden or treasurer of the congregation for twenty-three years. This service was broken only by a journey to Herrnhut in 1801, where he was one of the representatives of the British Province at the General Synod of that year.

Old age creeping on, and the results of the cruel treatment received in Cairo making themselves felt again and again with the decline of his physical powers, Antes retired to Bristol in September, 1809. There in December, 1811, he fell asleep after a very brief and painless illness, seventy-one years of age.

The genuineness of his unaffected Christian character and life and the fidelity with which he discharged the various trusts com-

mitted to him received the testimony of those who knew him. A favorite passage on which he delighted to speak was 1 Peter 1:8, "Whom not having seen ye love; on Whom, though now ye see Him not, yet believing, ye rejoice greatly with joy unspeakable and full of glory: receiving the end of your faith even the salvation of your souls."

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

October 21, 1937

The meeting was called to order in the museum room, Whitefield House, Nazareth, Penna., at 11 a. m., with the President in the chair. Fourteen members were present.

Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee, held September 3, were read and approved as read. Minutes of the annual meeting of the Society, held October 29, 1936, were not read, as these had been approved by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer submitted his annual financial report, of which the following is an abstract, viz.:

Cash on hand, October 1, 1936	$5,985.41
Receipts	2,384.52
	$8,369.93
Disbursements	3,485.25
Cash on hand, October 1, 1937	$4,884.68

On motion, the report was accepted and ordered filed.

The Librarian, the Rev. G. M. Shultz, reported that many valuable books and articles had been presented to the museum of the Society, during the year, and named the donors. He requested that any unused copies of the "Transactions" of the Moravian Historical Society be returned to him for the use of the Society.

The Secretary announced the names of applicants for membership, viz.:

For active membership, Miss Mazie E. Shultz, Mrs. Eugenia M. Meilicke, Mrs. Emma L. Wilson, Mrs. Mary E. Weir, Kenneth G. Hamilton, Milton A. Yaeck;

For associate membership, DeCost Smith, Edgar T. Yeisley. These nominations were referred to the Executive Committee for action.

Treasurer James S. Fry and other Nazareth members of the M. H. S. spoke of the completion of the curbing on the north side of the Whitefield House property, as undertaken by the Society, and suggested that the Society continue by authorizing the construction of curbing on the east and west sides of the property with W.P.A. assistance. Dr. Paul deSchweinitz spoke of the limited funds of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, owners of the property, said that he knew all the directors of that Society would appreciate the financial assistance of the M. H. S. in the upkeep of the property. On motion, the Committee of Nazareth members of the M. H. S. was instructed to proceed with the curbing of the east and west sides of the property.

Upon report of the nominating committee, the following officers were duly elected for the ensuing year:

President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Vice-Presidents, The Rev. Paul deSchweinitz, D.D., the Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D., Albert G. Rau, Ph.D., L.H.D., LL.D., William H. Milchsack, Archibald Johnston, M.E., the Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D., Herbert H. Beck, Sc.D., Miss Adelaide L. Fries, Litt.D., the Rt. Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, D.D., L.H.D.

Secretary, William E. Henry.

Treasurer, James S. Fry.

Librarian, The Rev. G. M. Shultz, M.A.

Publication Committee, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D., Albert G. Rau, Ph.D., L.H.D., LL.D., Harry J. Meyers.

Board of Managers, James S. Fry, Albert Brodhead, John E. Leibfried, William E. Henry.

Library Committee, J. Frederick Knecht, The Rev. G. M. Shultz, M.A., the Rev. Paul S. Meinert, M.A., Andrew G. Kern, George W. Hahn, the Rev. Samuel C. Zeller, A.M.

Graveyard Committee, William H. Milchsack, A. O. Sturgis, Robert F. Ziegler.

The customary honoraria were ordered paid to the Librarian, the Secretary, and the Treasurer.

Adjournment.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee met immediately after the adjournment of the business session of the Society, elected the nominees of the morning session to membership of the several classifications, and adjourned.

VESPER MEETING

Members and friends of the Society, to the number of about two hundred, heeded the call of the Nazareth trombone choir to assemble for the annual Vesper meeting, in the social rooms of the Nazareth Moravian Church, at 1:15 p. m. After the Vesper meal, the President announced the names of those members of the Society who had departed to their eternal rest during the past year, viz., Mrs. E. S. Hagen, W. J. Heller, Mrs. M. M. Warner, Richard O. Beitel, Miss Clara A. Beck, Walter Crawford, Miss Josephine Johnston, David Rebstock, Clarence M. Thaeler, the Rev. Joseph E. Weinland, D.D., Frank Huth. The customary memorial hymn was sung, members and guests standing.

The President greeted the members and friends present and, then, introduced Mr. David Sanders Clark, of Cleveland, Ohio, who read an excellent paper on "The Moravian Mission of Pilgerruh." Pilgerruh, meaning Pilgrims' Rest, was a temporary settlement of the Indian mission congregation, 1787, on a part of the site of the modern city of Cleveland, which was founded nine years later. The Indian village consisted of twenty-seven houses, spread over an area of eight or ten acres on Tinker Creek. Stereopticon projected pictures and maps illustrated the presentation of the subject.

The President called attention to the fact that this year marked the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the granting of the charter by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to the Society for Propagating the Gospel. Dr. Paul deSchweinitz spoke briefly of the missionary activity of this Society during the century and a half.

Bishop Hamilton commented at some length on the value of the paper read by Mr. Clark, stating, also, that the year of the Pilgerruh was one of the dark and difficult periods in the career of the missionary David Zeisberger.

The Secretary, then, announced the status of the membership of the Society, as follows:

Life Members	109
Active Members	186
Associate Members	15
Exchanges	35
Total	345

Adjournment, after the signing of a closing hymn.

WM. E. HENRY, *Secretary.*

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

October 13, 1938

The business meeting convened in the museum of the Whitefield House, Nazareth, at 11 a. m., the President, Dr. W. N. Schwarze, presiding. Fifteen members were present.

The minutes of the last annual meeting had been approved by the Executive Committee. The minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee were read and approved as read.

The Treasurer submitted his annual financial report. The following is an abstract, viz.:

Cash balance on hand, October 1, 1937	$4,884.68
Receipts	2,639.34
	$7,524.02
Disbursements	1,629.02
Cash on hand, October 10, 1938	$5,895.00

On motion, the report was accepted and ordered filed.

In behalf of the committee, James S. Fry and William E. Henry, appointed to visit and report on the condition of the cemetery at Hope, N. J., the Secretary reported that the cemetery plot was in good condition, although a number of the displaced tombstones were piled up near by. As neither record of burials nor map has been found, these tombstones cannot be replaced correctly. The committee recommends that a monument of sufficient size be erected, bearing as nearly as possible the names of all the deceased there. The committee had met with the Rev. Arthur Francke, who showed them a transcript of the deed recording the transfer of the cemetery to the Moravians. After some discussion, the committee was instructed to have

the plot kept in order, and the Rev. Arthur Francke was requested to find out whether a copy of record of burials and map can be secured from the Archives, in Herrnhut, Saxony, Germany.

The Secretary reported that Mr. DeCost Smith, an associate member of the Society, residing at Amenia, N. Y., near the site of the former Moravian Indian mission station of Shekomeko, had, with the consent of the Executive Committee, placed a tablet on the Shekomeko monument, indicating the direction and distance of the grave of the missionary Gottlob Buettner from the monument, which had, some years ago, been moved from the site of the grave in a field to a highway intersection near by. Mr. Smith had, also, had the premises surveyed and a marker placed on the grave of Buettner, the marker so fixed that it is fourteen inches below the field surface and not likely to be disturbed by field operations. Thankful appreciation of the Society was suitably expressed to Mr. Smith.

The Librarian, the Rev. G. M. Shultz, submitted a detailed statement of donations to the Society's library and museum, many of these being of real value. He reported that about five hundred persons, coming from all parts of the country, had visited the museum during the year.

The Secretary announced the names of applicants for membership, viz.:

For active membership, Miss M. Pauline Detterer, Miss Rachel E. Shultz, Warren L. Breinig, Harry K. Trend, Harry C. Seipel;

For associate membership, Miss Esther D. Bixler, Harold W. Snyder;

For life membership, Melvin Schissler.

These nominations were referred to the Executive Committee for action.

The customary honoraria were ordered paid to the Librarian, the Secretary, and the Treasurer.

The election of officers for the ensuing year resulted as follows:

President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Vice-Presidents, The Rt. Rev. Paul deSchweinitz, D.D., the Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D., Albert G. Rau, Ph.D., L.H.D., LL.D., William H. Milchsack, Archibald Johnston, M.E., the Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D., Herbert H. Beck, Sc.D., Miss Adelaide L. Fries, Litt.D., the Rt. Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, D.D., L.H.D.

Secretary, William E. Henry.

Treasurer, James S. Fry.

Librarian, The Rev. G. M. Schultz, M.A.

Publication Committee, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D., Albert G. Rau, Ph.D., L.H.D., LL.D., Harry J. Meyers.

Board of Managers, James S. Fry, John E. Leibfried, William E. Henry.

Library Committee, J. Frederick Knecht, the Rev. G. M. Shultz, M.A., the Rev. Paul S. Meinert, M.A., Andrew G. Kern, George W. Hahn, the Rev. Samuel C. Zeller, A.M.

Graveyard Committee, William H. Milchsack, A. O. Sturgis, Robert F. Ziegler.

Adjourment.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee met immediately after the adjournment of the business session of the Society, elected the nominees of the morning session to membership of the several classifications, and adjourned.

VESPER MEETING

The Vesper meeting was called to order by the President, at 1:15 p. m., in the social rooms of the Nazareth Moravian Church. About one hundred eighty members and friends gathered about the tables.

At the conclusion of the Vesper meal, the President communicated the names of those members of the Society who had departed to their eternal rest during the past year, viz., Albert Brodhead, Mrs. W. C. Cortright, C. Miner Dodson, Mrs. James Laubach, A. N. Roberts, Mrs. Thomas Semmel, Mrs. W. L. Wilson, Miss Anna Beitel, Alvin E. Frantz, Mrs. Mary Mack, Arthur

Krause, Mrs. Elizabeth V. Fisher, the Rev. George R. Israel. In the memory the customary memorial hymn was sung, members and guests standing.

The President greeted the assembly and, then, introduced Dr. Hans T. David, musicologist, who with Dr. Rau had classified and catalogued the compositions of early Moravian composers whose works are now, in considerable number, stored in the Archives at Bethlehem. His paper, "Musical Life in the Pennsylvania Settlements of the Moravians," proved to be a most interesting and instructive summary. He referred, also, to the early life of some of the musicians in Bohemia and Moravia.

At the request of the President, Dr. Gapp gave a brief and interesting account of the John Hus Conference, held during the month of August, in Watertown, Wisconsin, where one hundred thirty delegates, representing various denominations and religious groups that trace their origin to the life and ministry of John Hus, met in convention, these delegates coming from eleven of the States and some parts of Canada.

Mr. DeCost Smith, at the call of the President, showed and gave some account of the Indian wampum, which he had presented to the Society at its business meeting. He had secured it from Onondago Castle, in New York, and explained how it was used by the Indian Counsellors.

The Secretary announced the present status of the membership of the Society, viz.:

Life Members	110
Active Members	168
Associate Members	29
Exchanges	35
Total	342

After the singing of an appropriate hymn stanza, the President declared the meeting adjourned.

W. E. HENRY, *Secretary.*

In Memoriam

Mrs. E. S. Hagen

was born in ....., ..., January 25, 1869. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., April 15, 1937. She joined the Society in 1909.

William J. Heller

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., July 1, 1878. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., October 22, 1936. He joined the Society in 1916.

Mrs. M. M. Warner

was born in Nazareth, Penna., December 21, 1839. She died in Philadelphia, Penna., October 19, 1937. She joined the Society in 1888.

Richard O. Beitel

was born in Nazareth, Penna., November 2, 1844. He died in Nazareth, Penna., May 18, 1937. He joined the Society in 1867.

Miss Clara A. Beck

was born in Lopatcong, Warren Co., N. J., November 28, 1860. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., June 26, 1937. She joined the Society in 1920. She served for a number of years on the Library Committee of the Society and was the author of a number of historical monographs.

Walter Crawford

was born at Nazareth, Penna., August 15, 1858. He died at Nazareth, Penna, January 21, 1937. He joined the Society in 1888.

Miss Josephine Johnston

was born in Phoenixville, Penna., October, 1859. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., December 17, 1936. She joined the Society in 1929.

David Rebstock

was born in Lebanon, Penna., March 23, 1858. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., December 17, 1936. He joined the Society in 1935.

Clarence M. Thaeler

was born in Kingston, Jamaica, British West Indies, October 21, 1874. He died in Greensboro, N. C., June 9, 1937. He joined the Society in 1936.

The Rev. Joseph E. Weinland, D.D.

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., June 23, 1871. He died in Nazareth, Penna., December 19, 1936. Dr. Weinland was deeply and actively interested in the objectives of the Society. He served, for a number of years, as a Vice President of the Society and on various special committees. On occasion, he presented papers at the annual meetings of the Society. He possessed the characteristics of the genuine antiquarian, being most conscientious and painstaking in all his research work. He will be particularly remembered for his patient, skillfully conducted negotiations and indefatigable labor in connection with the splendid project of reconstructing the Moravian Mission Indian village of Schoenbrunn, in Ohio. He gave unstintedly of his time and energy to make it a worthy State Memorial Park. As it stands today, it is a monument to his untiring efforts and nice appreciation of the value of correct details in contributing to a significant whole, even as it is substantial and informing witness to heroic, self-sacrificing missionary enterprise. He joined the Society in 1907.

Frank Huth

was born in Petersville, Northampton Co., Penna., May 26, 1860. He died in Nazareth, Penna., July 15, 1937. He joined the Society in 1896.

Albert Brodhead

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., September 26, 1867. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., May 19, 1938. He joined the Society in 1881.

Mrs. W. C. Cortright

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., February 26, 1857. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., December 25, 1937. She joined the Society in 1920.

C. Miner Dodson

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., November 12, 1869. He died in New York, N. Y., October 28, 1938. He joined the Society in 1895.

Mrs. James Laubach

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., July 22, 1861. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., April 8, 1936. She joined the Society in 1918.

A. N. Roberts

was born in ....., ..., October 23, 1881. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., February 25, 1938. He joined the Society in 1917.

Mrs. Thomas Semmel

was born in Allentown, Penna., September 7, 1872. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., October 12, 1937. She joined the Society in 1920.

Mrs. W. L. Wilson

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., October 14, 1868. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., February 1, 1932. She joined the Society in 1927.

Miss Anna Beitel

was born in Schoeneck (Near Nazareth, Penna.), August 14, 1878. She died in Schoeneck, August 5, 1938. She joined the Society in 1919.

Alvin A. Frantz

was born at Kunkletown, Monroe Co., Penna., September 28, 1869. He died at Nazareth, Penna., January 3, 1938. He joined the Society in 1919.

Mrs. Mary Mack

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., February 6, 1856. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., April 29, 1938. She joined the Society in 1907.

Arthur Krause

was born in Bethlethem, Penna., July 16, 1867. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., December 27, 1937. He joined the Society in 1888.

Mrs. Elizabeth V. Fisher

was born near Goshen, Orange County, New York, January 15, 1852. She died in Swiftwater, Monroe Co., Penna., November 27, 1937. She joined the Society in 1925.

The Rev. George R. Isreal

was born in Egg Harbor, N. J., November 12, 1860. He died in Park Ridge, N. J., March 13, 1938. He joined the Society in 1881.

The Moravian Mission of Pilgerruh

David Sanders Clark

Research Assistant,
The Western Reserve Historical Society

Read before the Moravian Historical Society, at Nazareth, Pennsylvania, October 21, 1937

A little over a century and a half ago, in June, 1786, three intrepid Moravian missionaries, David Zeisberger, John Heckewelder, and William Edwards, founded upon the banks of the Cuyahoga River in Northeastern Ohio the settlement later to be known as Pilgerruh. Of the many mission villages established under their guidance during long years of service among the Indians, it was one of the smallest and most briefly occupied. Their Indian converts numbered only about a hundred, a mere remnant of those who had lived at Schoenbrunn and the other towns in the Tuscarawas valley a few years before; and the settlement was abandoned in the spring of 1787, some ten months after it had been begun.

Yet over a long period of time this short-lived village has received as much attention, outside of Moravian circles, at least, as have some of the missions which lasted considerably longer and were far more important from the point of view of missionary achievement. It was barely nine years after the departure of the Brethren and their Indians from the Cuyahoga that the city of Cleveland was laid out in the forest at the mouth of the river by surveyors of the Connecticut Land Company. Since the day, now almost a century ago, when Clevelanders, done with the task of subduing the wilderness and well on the road to commercial prosperity, first had the leisure to look about them and began to realize that their section of the state had a history worth relating, local writers have taken an interest in Pilgerruh, partly because of its colorful background of religious history, and partly because of its being the first town to be

established by white men in this region. Its story, derived from various Moravian authorities, chiefly Heckewelder's *Narrative*[1] and Bishop Loskiel's *History,*[2] and more recently the translation of Zeisberger's *Diary,*[3] has been retold many times.

The picture presented by these sources, however, is incomplete. Heckewelder's account of Pilgerruh covers only a few pages, and Loskiel's is but two chapters in a lengthy book. Zeisberger's *Diary,* full of detail as it is, is virtually without explanatory notes. Mentions of important events on the Ohio frontier are frequently passed over without comment; Indian chiefs and traders are accorded the briefest sort of notice or none at all; and many of the towns and places appearing in the text are left unidentified. Moreover, it is evident even from a casual reading of the *Diary* that the editor has left additional sources of information quite untapped or even unaccounted for, such as the papers of the army officers and government officials with whom the Moravians came in contact, the files of the *Pittsburgh Gazette,* the first newspaper west of the Alleghanies, of which at least one copy reached Pilgerruh, and most obvious and important of all the score or more letters which Zeisberger and his fellow missionaries wrote to friends in Detroit and church authorities in the East during their stay on the Cuyahoga.

Rather curiously, in view of the attention devoted to Pilgerruh by various writers, but quite in keeping none the less with that unfortunate human tendency not to take an interest in preserving historical evidence until it has vanished almost completely beyond recovery, the exact location of the village was gradually forgotten. Two men who had actually seen the settlement were living as late as 1850. But, somehow, no one ever took the trouble to get from their lips the information needed

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[1] John Heckewelder, *A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians from its commencement in the year 1740 to the close of the year 1808.* William Elsey Connelley, ed. Cleveland, 1907.

[2] George Henry Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America.* Christian Ignatius La Trobe, tr. London, 1794.

[3] *Diary of David Zeisberger, A Moravian Missionary among the Indians of Ohio,* Eugene F. Bliss, tr. 2 vols., Cincinnati, 1885.

to mark the site upon a map; and when they died, all recollection of the spot died with them. In subsequent years, several plausible locations were suggested. But evidence to establish the correct one was lacking.

Pilgerruh has interested me ever since I was a small boy. When the opportunity came, about a year and a half ago, to undertake some project of historical research, I began an intensive study of the settlement and its background, at first on my own, but soon under the auspices of The Western Reserve Historical Society, upon which I have been engaged as fully as my time will permit ever since. In this work, my aim has been twofold; first, and primarily, to assemble the material necessary to present the story of Pilgerruh in complete detail, and, second, to gather together sufficient evidence to make it possible to determine the exact spot where the mission stood. It is a very real pleasure to have this opportunity to express my warm gratitude to the Moravian archivists and historians who have had the industry and foresight to preserve the early records of their church with extraordinary care, and most particularly to Dr. W. N. Schwarze; for without this material upon which to base my researches, and without his unfailingly generous assistance in interpreting it, the story which this paper tells could not have been written.

Through the kindness of Dr. Schwarze and the late Dr. Joseph B. Weinland, I was granted access to the archives in Bethlehem. On going through the rows of large green boxes filled with papers relating to the Indian missions, Dr. Schwarze produced not only a journal in Zeisberger's own hand covering his stay at Pilgerruh, but also the greater part of the letters written by him and Heckewelder at this period, together with copies of some of the replies sent to them by people in Bethlehem. A comparison of this Zeisberger diary with the published one makes it quite clear that while they are similar they are not the same. This is evidently the report, in journal form, which the missionary, according to the established custom, forwarded in installments from time to time to the church authorities to keep them advised as to the activities of the mission, whereas the other is a daily record which he kept for himself and his colleagues. The two accounts might almost be said to bear the re-

lationship, one to the other, of finished version to first draft. Zeisberger, perhaps feeling called upon to deal more fully with certain aspects of the mission's affairs for the benefit of readers far from the scene or else to revise in the light of subsequent events some of the passages he had first set down, frequently added facts to his report which do not appear in the published diary at all. Conversely the latter contains many details which are omitted in the Bethlehem manuscript. The two versions supplement each other most interestingly. The letters, although their chief value lies in the more personal glimpses which they afford of the missionaries and their work, supply other important bits of historical evidence. Indeed, one of Heckewelder's gives in a few sentences as good a summary of the points of friction between the Indians and Americans in the West at this period as I have seen.

These manuscripts, supplemented by some additional letters of the missionaries in the possession of other libraries and corroborative evidence from contemporary non-Moravian sources, when added to the printed accounts make up a great mass of historical information of exceptional significance to the city of Cleveland. As an examination of the works of local historians will readily show, most American communities possess but a fragmentary knowledge of the history and appearance of their localities prior to the beginning of actual settlement. If an antiquarian has unearthed Indian relics in the neighborhood, or some famous explorer or noted frontiersman happened to pass nearby, while sailing along the coast or making his way through the wilderness, much is made of the fact. But since Indians left no written records, observations in an explorer's journal are apt to be cursory, and a frontiersman, even when not illiterate, usually displayed slight interest in preserving an account of his experiences, the historian generally has distressingly little upon which to draw. Thanks to the Pilgerruh material, however, Cleveland's case is very different. For we have much more than the story of the Moravian village. We have an extraordinarily detailed record, not only of what the missionaries and their converts did, but of the Indians and white traders whom they encountered, the animals they hunted, and the sort of country which they found, some hundred and fifty years ago, within an

area now largely covered by Cleveland and its suburbs. These documents are infinitely more valuable than the narratives of any transitory explorer or unlettered frontiersman, for Zeisberger and Heckewelder combined with an intimate knowledge of wilderness life such as few educated men possessed, the ability and conscientiousness to observe and note down with painstaking care everything that took place around them. There are few cities in America, if indeed there are any, which possess so excellent an account of what one might call their "prehistory."

It is obviously impossible in a short paper such as this to discuss the various Pilgerruh documents in detail. Therefore, I shall attempt no more than to sketch briefly the history of the village, emphasizing some of the particularly significant features of the material, and touching upon several individuals and incidents which have received but slight attention in the published histories of the Moravian missions, and then conclude with a presentation of the evidence now available regarding its location and a description of the site selected last winter by The Western Reserve Historical Society on the basis of this data.

The founding of Pilgerruh marked the return of the missionaries to Ohio soil after an exile of nearly four years during the turbulent border warfare which ushered in the final stages of the Revolution along the western frontier and continued beyond its close. In 1781, acting on the suspicion that the Moravians were secretly in sympathy with the American rebels, a force of British and Indians had descended upon their prosperous towns in the Tuscarawas valley and carried off the missionaries and their converts to Upper Sandusky. This disaster had been followed, in 1782, by the tragic massacre of ninety of the Christian Indians at Gnadenhutten by Pennsylvania militiamen. To preserve the remnant of the Indian congregation from further harm, Zeisberger had had no choice but to seek a place of refuge on the Clinton River north of Detroit, where he founded the settlement of New Gnadenhutten. Yet he and the other Moravian Brethren never lost hope of sometime being able to resume their work among the Delaware nation in Ohio, where they felt their duty particularly to lie. After a long period of uncertainty, the way for their return seemed clear when word was received in 1785 that an ordinance of Congress "for ascertaining the mode of disposing

of lands in the Western Territory'' had specifically reserved for the Christian Indians their three towns on the Tuscarawas, and so much land as the Geographer of the United States might see fit to give. But it was not until February, 1786, that the missionaries received assurances from Major Ancrum, the British commandant at Detroit, that the Ohio tribes had made peace with the Americans and that it would be safe to move the mission back across the Lake.

In making arrangements for their journey, Zeisberger and Heckewelder had invaluable assistance from John Askin, a Scotchman from the north of Ireland, who had entered the Indian trade at Albany as a partner of Robert Rogers, the celebrated colonial ranger, then come west shortly after the French and Indian War, and risen to prominence as a merchant in Detroit. When it appeared that a number of Frenchmen were waiting to take possession of the Moravians' village as soon as they had gone, without giving them any remuneration, Askin, with Major Ancrum, purely out of kindness agreed to purchase it for four hundred dollars. In addition he placed two small sloops, the ''Beaver'' and the ''Mackinaw,'' at Zeisberger's disposal to convey the Indians across Lake Erie to the mouth of the Cuyahoga. From here it was an easy journey by canoe up the river, over the portage near the present city of Akron, and down the Tuscarawas to Schoenbrunn and the rest of their abandoned towns.

The two vessels set sail from the government shipyard at Detroit on the twenty-eighth of April, 1786. Under normal conditions the voyage ought to have taken not more than two or three days at the most. But adverse winds prevented their getting further than the Bass Islands off Sandusky, where they were forced to take refuge for four weeks. While they were still awaiting a favorable breeze, the ''Beaver'' was recalled to Detroit by Mr. Askin, whose trading company could do without her services no longer, so that it became necessary to set most of the party ashore just west of Sandusky Bay and leave them to make their way toward the Cuyahoga under the guidance of Heckewelder and Zeisberger in canoes or on foot. In the meanwhile Brother Edwards, with the household goods and those of the

Indians who were too old or infirm to walk, sailed for the mouth of the river in the "Mackinaw."

By the time the whole congregation had reassembled on the Cuyahoga it was the eighth of June. The season was already too far advanced for them to think of planting corn upon their arrival in the Tuscarawas valley, and, as a result of their prolonged stay on the islands, their reserve supply of food was almost gone. There were also rumors abroad that the Mingoes and Cherokees were still on the warpath, with no thoughts of making peace, and the reports of Indians who had been present at the last treaty with the United States gave the missionaries some reason to believe that Congress was contemplating a change in the resolution concerning the Moravian towns, perhaps with the intention of settling the Christian Indians in some other region. Under the circumstances, therefore, it seemed best to select a place on the Cuyahoga where they could raise corn and vegetables, and await further developments. The banks of the river were lined with thick forest, but some ten or twelve miles upstream they came upon the site of an old Ottawa town, near which were cornfields suitable for planting, though much overgrown with weeds. On the east side of the river at this point was an elevated piece of ground. Here they pitched camp on June eighteenth, and as soon as the fields could be cleared began sowing their crops, planting in addition to corn, potatoes, beans, and pumpkins, a large quantity of turnips, because they were least likely to fail.

During the course of the summer and fall a village consisting of twenty-seven houses and a chapel was built. Unlike most of the Moravian mission towns it was not laid out on a regular plan. Instead of being set in rows, each upon its own lot, the houses were scattered about the chapel in haphazard fashion. Moreover, while a few of the Indians took the trouble to erect substantial log cabins, quite similar no doubt to those that have been reconstructed at Shoenbrunn, the majority were evidently content with rude huts made of bark fastened to a framework of poles. The explanation for these departures from the usual custom lies in the fact that from the very beginning it was looked upon as a temporary resting place rather than a permanent settlement. It was the missionaries' intention to move on to

the Tuscarawas the following spring at the latest, provided that war between the savage Indians and the United States did not prevent or Congress decree otherwise. The transitory character of the village is reflected in its Indian name, "the Night Lodge on the Cuyahoga" as well as in the one which Bishop Loskiel gave it, Pilgerruh, or "Pilgrim's Rest."

For untold centuries the Cuyahoga was one of the most important Indian highways between Lake Erie and the Ohio River. Forts and earthworks are to be found the whole length of the valley, and nearly every level hilltop bears evidence of having been once a village site. Yet almost the only written record which we have of the Indians who frequented this region is provided by the accounts of Pilgerruh. It is not as rich a record as it might have been had the missionaries settled here, say, fifty or a hundred years earlier, for by 1786 most of the Ohio tribes had fallen back before the advance of the American frontiersmen to the Sandusky, the Big Miami, and other rivers farther west, but it is none the less extremely valuable. Although there are mentions from time to time of Delawares, Wyandots, and Iroquois, the greater part of their Indian visitors and neighbors were evidently Ottawas and Chippewas, among the latter being a group which had come from a place a hundred miles the other side of Mackinac Island—an interesting indication of the distances redmen sometimes travelled. Another band belonging to this same nation, including the brother of a chief who had befriended them when they were on the other side of the Lake, encamped near Pilgerruh and joined the Christian Indians in their maple-sugar making. With most of their savage acquaintances the Moravian brethren and sisters were on very good terms, sharing with them their meagre food supply and sometimes receiving a present of meat in return. The sole exception was the time when seven Indians representing themselves to be Ottawas and Chippewas broke into a storehouse in the village and made off with two casks of flour—a deed, said the chief's brother's party when they heard of it, which must have been done by Ottawas, for Chippewas "did no such things."[4]

Except for the Frenchmen who lived near Sandusky Bay, and an occasional trader, the missionaries were the sole white

[4] Zeisberger, *Diary*, vol. i, p. 320.

residents of Northern Ohio. Yet white visitors at Pilgerruh were also frequent, for the Moravian documents reveal that even at this early period, with the war only a few years over and commercial agreements between Great Britain and the United States still to be negotiated, a steady intercourse was going on between British Detroit and American Pittsburgh. Every few weeks, during the summer and fall of 1786, huge packtrains consisting of as many as ninety horses and ten drivers journeyed along the Indian trail past Pilgerruh, bound from Pittsburgh to the mouth of the Cuyahoga, laden with kegs of flour and bacon to be shipped from there to Detroit by sloop. Through the packhorsemen the missionaries were able to get news of what was happening along the frontier and in the Indian country, and it was from them that they often received their letters from friends in Bethlehem.

These men were in the employ of David Duncan and William Wilson, two enterprising Pittsburgh merchants, whose names appear so frequently in the history of the Moravian missions that they deserve something more than passing mention. Duncan, who was born about 1730 or 1735, was a trader among the Shawnees when Zeisberger first came to the Ohio country, and visited Schoenbrunn in company with the Rev. David Jones, in February, 1773. In the following year, while serving as a messenger to the Shawnees at the commencement of Lord Dunmore's War, he was suddenly fired upon by one of their braves, and would almost certainly have been killed, had not his companion, the great Delaware chief White-Eyes, rushed upon the Indian and disarmed him. During the Revolution, Duncan was captain of a militia company, an assistant deputy quartermaster, and, for a few months in 1781, Commissioner of Purchases for Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. In 1787, and probably for several years thereafter, he held a contract for supplying provisions to all the United States posts on the north western frontier. In company with other merchants, including John Askin, he frequently engaged in private trading ventures, even to points as far distant as Vincennes, Chicago, and Mackinac; and in addition he maintained a tavern in Pittsburgh.

William Wilson, who operated a general store next to Duncan's tavern, was, if we may judge from his letters, a rather

better educated and more intelligent man than his partner. Though one could not rightfully say that he was a prominent figure on the Ohio frontier, none the less there were few men whose names loom large in the history of this region with whom he was not acquainted. In the troublous times which followed the setting up of the Northwest Territory, Governor St. Clair made considerable use of his knowledge of the Indian languages and Indian ways when he had need of communicating with the Ohio tribes; his name appears among the witnesses to the treaty of Fort Harmar in 1789; and he was also sent as an interpreter to an unsuccessful peace council held on the Miami in 1792. His most memorable exploit in the government service, however, was performed in 1776, during the opening phases of the Revolution in the west, when he was sent by the American Indian agent, George Morgan, to invite the chiefs of the Delaware, Shawnee, and Wyandot nations to a council at Pittsburgh. Finding on reaching Sandusky, after visiting the Delawares and Shawnees, that the Wyandots were holding a council near Detroit, he boldly decided to go to them and, with superb daring, actually proclaimed his message in the name of the American Colonies before the assembled chieftains in the presence of the British Governor himself. Governor Hamilton, whose cruelty to American prisoners was later notorious, burst into a rage, tore up Wilson's message, and cut his wampum belt to pieces, but, to his credit, be it said, respected the trader's character as an ambassador, and let him depart unharmed. Unlike many backwoodsmen, Wilson looked upon the Indians as friends. In 1791, when that notorious Indian fighter Captain Samuel Brady and a band of militia surprised and slaughtered a small party of savages who had been trading at his post on the Big Beaver, he managed to save the life of a small boy who fled to him for protection, and later was instrumental in having Brady brought to trial for murder, an almost unheard of procedure in a country where the philosophy prevailed that "to kill an Indian, was the same as killing a Bear or a Buffaloe."[5] Among those slain in this encounter, it may be remarked in passing, was Matthew, a former member of the Moravian mission and a visitor at Pilgerruh.

[5] Heckewelder, *Narrative*, pp. 246-247.

When Wilson first made the acquaintance of the missionaries, I have as yet been unable to ascertain; but it was probably early in the 1770's, at which time he, like David Duncan, was trading among the Shawnees. In any case such was the extraordinary trust which Zeisberger and Heckewelder placed in his friendship that as early as November, 1784, when their plan to return to Ohio had still for various reasons to be kept a secret, they confided in him, with the request that he use his influence among the Delaware chiefs so as to prepare the way for their coming.[6]

Throughout the time the Indian congregation resided on the Cuyahoga, both Wilson and his partner proved most helpful to them. Within a day or two after their arrival, Brother Schebosch was dispatched to Pittsburgh to arrange for the securing of supplies, and returned with orders from the two merchants to the agent, who looked after the provisions which were brought by packhorsemen to the mouth of the river, to let them have everything they needed either for cash or credit. Had it not been for the flour they were thus able to procure, the Moravian Indians might well have been reduced to the point of starvation before their crops had a chance to ripen. Somewhat later Heckewelder was able to purchase through Wilson several cows from a herd which he was having driven from Pittsburgh to Detroit, over the great inland trail which crossed the Cuyahoga just north of Akron; and toward the end of September their packhorses brought to Pilgerruh a large quantity of clothing which had been forwarded from Bethlehem by the General Helpers' Conference. In the preceding year, Duncan and Wilson had sent a party of men, equipped with large iron kettles, to boil salt at the Salt Springs about forty miles east of Pilgerruh in what is now Wethersfield, Ohio, but had been prevented from carrying out their project by orders from Lieutenant-Colonel Harmar, issued on the grounds that the Indian title to the land had not yet been extinguished. The kettles, however, had been left behind; and these they placed at the disposal of the Moravian Indians for their own salt-making. Wilson was an overnight visitor at the mission in August, and

[6] John Heckewelder to William Wilson, November 10, 1784, transcript, Bethlehem archives.

he and Duncan stayed there for several days early in the following spring.

Aside from these men and the packhorse drivers, the missionaries came in contact with quite a number of white people, including one or two families as well as individual travellers, who were bound either to or from Pittsburgh and Detroit. Most of them remain nameless in the records. But among those particularly mentioned is John Leith, sometime partner of Duncan and Wilson, and one of the few early traders of whom we have any real account, whose quaint little biography[7] is a classic in the literature of the western frontier. Another was Isaac Williams, a British trader from Detroit who had become acquainted with the missionaries while they were living at New Gnadenhutten, and a person of considerable influence among the Wyandots, his brother-in-law being a chief among them.

Early in October, 1786, Heckewelder felt compelled by the state of his wife's health to return with her and his daughter, Anna Salome, to Bethlehem, leaving the direction of the mission in the hands of Zeisberger and Edwards. The former was now sixty-five years of age, while the latter was sixty-two and grown both ill and feeble. Though they had the assistance of Mrs. Zeisberger and Brother Shebosch, it was not practicable to think of adding to their other duties that of conducting a school for the children. But during the winter Zeisberger devoted his spare time to the study of Indian grammar, in order to prepare himself to carry out a long felt desire, so he writes, to "have something of God's Word printed in the Indian language."[8]

While he was engaged in this work, a letter arrived from Richard Butler, the American Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern District, saying that he had been commissioned by George Washington to assemble as many vocabularies of the different Indian languages as it might be possible for him to secure, and asking the missionary to help him with some thing

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[7] *A Short Biography of John Leith, [sic] with a Brief Account of His Life Among the Indians.* C. W. Butterfield, ed. Cincinnati, R. Clarke & Co., 1883.

[8] David Zeisberger to the General Helpers' Conference, June 15, 1787, A. L. S. Bethlehem archives.

of the kind in Delaware. As a matter of fact, though Zeisberger clearly did not know it, the original request came not from Washington but from the Empress of Russia, Catherine the Great, who was much interested at this time in the project of compiling a universal dictionary, and had appealed to the General through Lafayette for lists of words in the Indian tongues. In answer to the superintendent's letter, Zeisberger sent him a copy of his Delaware Indian spelling book; and about a year afterwards we find that Butler forwarded to Washington a vocabulary of the Shawnee and Delaware languages, which the latter turned over to John Jay to be forwarded to Lafayette.[9]

Though Zeisberger had hoped that by settling on the Cuyahoga the Moravian Indians might remain apart and unaffected by any strife which might break out between the Ohio tribes and the United States, this was not to be; for there was far too much trouble in the air. When the French had been masters of the old Northwest, it had always been their policy to interfere but little in the Indians' way of life. The British, also, after succeeding to the control of this region in 1763 looked upon it rather as a huge game preserve from which trading companies might draw enormous profits in furs, and strove to keep out settlers who would drive off the Indian hunters and trappers, cut down the forests, and ruin this lucrative traffic. But American frontiersmen had far different ideas. They wanted land and more land. Within a year or two after the Revolution came to a close, pioneers' cabins were arising on the north bank of the Ohio and along the rich bottoms of its tributaries, while in 1785, as we have seen, Duncan and Wilson's salt-makers had penetrated the Mahoning valley as far west as the Salt Springs. Naturally the Indians resented this invasion. But the situation was only aggravated by the American commissioners sent to treat with them, who adopted a dictatorial attitude, declined to give ear to their complaints, and led them to understand that all their territory was forfeit to the United States, because they had sided against us in the war. The discontent of the Indians was further stimulated by the British, who entertained the not implausible

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[9] *The Writings of George Washington*, Jared Sparks, ed., vol. ix, pp. 195-196, 213-214, 301-302, 305-306, 309, 341. Boston, 1835.

notion—since Detroit and their other posts along the Great Lakes were still in their hands—that with the help of their savage allies they might wrest the country north of the Ohio away from our feeble new republic and set up a sort of Indian "buffer state" to curb our expansion beyond the Appalachians.

About the time the Moravian congregation was making ready to cross Lake Erie, in the spring of 1786, David Duncan received the ominous message from some of the Ohio chiefs that "if it was only land we [Americans] wanted, they would give us as much as we wanted, when ever they met us, that was our length and breadth which ever way we would fall."[10] In May several traders were murdered on the Muskingum, and during the ensuing months reports came now and then to Pilgerruh of other killings and the burning of captives at the stake. Early in the fall, the famous Delaware chief, Captain Pipe, sent a message to the Moravian Indians, inviting them to appoint representatives to a council to be held to decide whether there should be war or peace, and urging them to move westward to the Petquotting (the present Huron River in Erie County, Ohio), where in the event of hostilities they would be safe from attack by white people. A short while afterwards, in retaliation for Indian raids in Kentucky, Col. Benjamin Logan crossed the Ohio and destroyed the Shawnee villages on the headwaters of the Mad River and the Big Miami. Thereupon, Pipe dispatched another message, adding to a report of this attack the even more alarming news that an American army was coming out of Pittsburgh, and had already been seen on the Tuscarawas, and urging them to flee before it was too late. Zeisberger rightly concluded that this "army" could only be the surveyors under the direction of Thomas Hutchins, the Geographer General of the United States, who were then engaged in laying out the so-called "Seven Ranges"; but his Indians, with memories of the massacre at Gnadenhutten all too vivid in their minds, were thrown into a panic from which they did not recover for several days. Nor was their anxiety lessened by the activities of one of their own number, Luke, a malcontent who sought, for reasons now rather obscure, to do everything in his power to induce them to move.

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[10] *Pennsylvania Archives*, series 1, vol. xii, pp. 300-301.

Encouraged, however, by indications during the winter that the tribes were becoming inclined toward peace, the missionaries as late as the middle of March clung to the belief that it would be possible for the congregation to return to the Tuscarawas. But their hopes were dashed by strong warnings from General Butler and Duncan and Wilson that they were about to walk straight into danger, confirmed by threats of savages hostile to the mission that Zeisberger would be killed if the Moravian Indians persevered in their intention. "If we had persisted," wrote Zeisberger later, "we should have sat down between two fires. On the one side, we should have had the wicked militia against us, and, on the other side, a host of wicked Indians, and who could have protected us?"[11]

Yet for them to remain where they were much longer did not seem feasible. This was partly due to the problem of obtaining food which was so difficult that the Indians had had to draw upon Duncan and Wilson for much more flour than they had money to pay for. But an even more impelling reason for moving arose when Zeisberger was informed by Duncan, probably at Butler's behest, that the United States was planning to send out troops in the summer to erect forts in the Indian country, including one at the mouth of the Cuyahoga.[12] In the light of the past experiences of Moravian missions when white men had come to live nearby, and particularly since the tragedy at Gnadenhutten, the prospect of having a detachment of rough, ill-disciplined frontier soldiers within a few miles of the village was certainly not one to be viewed with calmness. After consulting the lot in their dilemma, as was then the usual practice in deciding questions of great moment, it seemed to the missionaries that the only course open to them was to seek another location some miles further west. Accordingly preparations to leave were immediately begun; and on the nineteenth of April, 1787, the Zeisbergers and William Edwards set forth on their journey with the greater part of their converts, hoping soon to be able to return to the Tuscarawas, yet destined to live on the

[11] David Zeisberger to the General Helpers' Conference, June 15, 1787, A. L. S. Bethlehem archives.

[12] David Zeisberger to the General Helpers' Conference, April 9, 1787, A. L. S. Bethlehem archives.

Huron River and in Canada for eleven years, until it was plain that the forces of the United States had crushed the resistance of the savage tribes for all time and rendered Ohio safe for settlement. Brother and Sister Schebosch with several families remained behind a few days to await the arrival of Michael Jung and John Weigand who were coming from Bethlehem to serve as assistants in the work of the mission. But by the first of May, the village was completely deserted.

Regarding the location of Pilgerruh, there is disappointingly little to be found in the writings of the missionaries, even in the new material brought to light in the Bethlehem archives. Heckewelder in his *Narrative,*[13] tells us that

". . . the Season being already too far advanced, to think of planting Corn on our arrival at the Muskingum, it being this day the 18th of June, we resolved to select a place on this River; where we might plant some Corn and Vegetables; and found a suitable location within about a dozen of Miles, from the Lake, where it appeared, there was formerly an Indian Corn field. Stopping here with our Canoes, we chose the East side of the River, for our encampment, and there built temporary Hutts; while on the opposite side, we prepared the ground for planting."

Zeisberger provides some additional details in his report to the church authorities.

"June 18. We came, early, to an old town, inhabited formerly by Ottawas, which was the first place we had come upon, where we could remain, for up to this point from the mouth of the River there is nothing but wild forest. We examined the region and considered with one another what would be best and most advantageous for us, whether to go on further or to remain and plant. We, as well as the Indian Brethren, found the latter to be the better for various reasons and resolved, therefore, to remain here for the summer, for, at present, we are still strangers here and did not know how the country looked, for from the Chippewas and the Ottawas along the Lake we had not been able to learn anything. For the first, we sought out a suitable place and pitched our camp, on the east side of the River, on an elevated plateau, it was, however, very wild and thickly overgrown with timber and bushes.

"June 19. We examined the land on the west side, where we wished to plant, and found good and quite a good deal of clear land for the purpose, though it was very wild, for the woods stood high as a man, these we were obliged to cut down and had, therefore, much toil and labor."

[13] p. 474.

But these passages, plus one or two brief paragraphs in Zeisberger's published *Diary* quite similar in content to those just quoted, constitute about all the information which is to be derived from first hand Moravian accounts. Before any decision as to the exact site of the mission could possibly be reached, it was necessary to trace down and piece together many clues from other sources.

Among the packhorsemen who journeyed past Pilgerruh in the summer and fall of 1786, transporting flour and bacon from Duncan and Wilson's store at Pittsburgh to the mouth of the Cuyahoga, was a young Revolutionary War veteran and frontier soldier named James Hillman, who later became one of the most prominent early citizens of Youngstown, Ohio, a lieutenant-colonel in the militia, and a member of the state legislature. That he actually visited the village on at least one of the six trips which he made over this route is proven by a receipt preserved among the papers of Duncan and Wilson which was made out to him for four kegs of flour delivered at the "Moravin Town," dated "October ye 24th 1786."[14] Writing of his experiences with the packtrains, many years afterwards, Hillman says:

". . . We took the Indian trail for Sandusky, until we arrived at the 'Standing Stone,' on the Cuyahoga, a little below the mouth of Breakneck creek, where the village of Franklin is now. There we left the Sandusky trail and took one direct to the mouth of Tinker's creek, where was a little town built by HECKEWELDER and ZEISBERGER, with a number of Moravian Indians. . . . Here we crossed the Cuyahoga, and went down on the west side to the mouth. In going down we passed a small log trading house, where one MEGINNES traded with the Indians. He had left the house in the spring before we were there. . . . There was no trading at Grindstone brook, where MEGINNES formerly traded."[15]

This statement is particularly valuable because it orients Pilgerruh in relation to geographical features which can be recognized at the present day. Tinker's Creek, still known by that name, flows into the Cuyahoga from the east in Independence township, and is one of the river's principal tributaries. Grindstone Brook can be identified through the medium of an

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[14] In the possession of The Burton Historical Collection, Detroit.

[15] James Hillman to Judge Barr, Nov. 23, 1843, in Col. Charles Whittlesey, *Early History of Cleveland, Ohio.* Cleveland, 1867, pp. 363-365.

old survey[16] as the present Hemlock Creek, a stream which enters the Cuyahoga from the west a mile and a half or so north of Tinker's.

Supplementing Colonel Hillman's description we have the testimony of another visitor at Pilgerruh, a certain Captain Thorn, in all probability the Captain William Thorn who served with the British naval forces on the Lakes during the Revolution and sailed these waters for a great many years. Though his name is not recorded in any Moravian account, Zeisberger does mention their having had a visit in October, 1786, from a commander of a boat from Detroit, which had taken on a load of flour, who was almost certainly he. According to Captain Allen Gaylord of Newburg, Ohio, who knew him well, Thorn used to say that the houses of the Moravians were located "on a hogs back, below the creek [Tinker's] where a large piece of ground was slashed."[17] This statement, even though it comes to us at second hand, is worth bearing in mind.

When General Moses Cleaveland and his corps of surveyors began their task of mapping the Western Reserve for the Connecticut Land Company in the summer of 1796, the ruins of Pilgerruh were still visible. Indeed the General, in his first report to the Company, mentions his having explored the Cuyahoga from its mouth as far as "the old Moravian Indian town."[18] In view of this evidence, it was thought that somewhere among the papers of his surveyors either for this year or the following might be information which would definitely locate the village. Accordingly a careful search was made of the Land Company's records in The Western Reserve Historical Society, which include all the surveyors' notebooks now known to be in existence. For a while hopes were high, for there was some indication that one of the men had actually made compass observations at

[16] State Road Record, 1828, p. 3, Cuyahoga County Engineer's Office, Cleveland.

[17] "Statement of Capt. Allen Gaylord, Newburg, June 14th, 1858," Manuscripts of the Western Reserve, vol. xi, The Western Reserve Historical Society.

[18] Samuel P. Orth, *A History of Cleveland, Ohio*, vol. i, p. 95. Chicago-Cleveland, 1910. The original of this letter is in the possession of The Western Reserve Historical Society.

Pilgerruh. But further investigation revealed the unfortunate fact that all his papers had been destroyed when his house at Niagara Falls was burned by the British during the War of 1812. Aside from this futile lead, the records yielded no clues.

To partially atone for this disappointment, however, we have a very interesting statement, in an account of the surveys of 1797, by Amzi Atwater, who was a member of the surveying party.

"After a few days of preparation, the two boats, with some of the surveyors, started up the [Cuyahoga] river with the assistants and provisions. I, with one or two other men, was sent by land to get the horses up above the mouth of TINKER'S creek, for the use of the surveyors. Not far above the creek, we found the remnants of some old huts, partly overgrown with thorn and plum trees, one or more fragments of doors were fastened with nails, which to me was a curiosity to see in such a place. I suppose they were the remains of the old Moravian settlement, but of this I may be mistaken."[19]

Despite the note of hesitancy in the last phrase, there can be no doubt in view of Colonel Hillman's and Captain Thorn's descriptions and of what we know of the early history of the Cuyahoga valley that the ruins which Atwater found were those of Pilgerruh. The mention of the nails is particularly interesting, for Heckewelder remarks in one of his letters that it was necessary to buy "nails for building."[20]

Atwater was the last man to see the Moravian village of whom there is any record. Probably during the next few years all evidence of the settlement quite disappeared. Bark huts are flimsy structures, and even a log cabin left unattended will not survive many seasons of exposure to sun and wind, snow and rain. Neither does it take long for weeds and bushes to quite choke up an abandoned clearing in the wilderness.

Yet among memoranda compiled in 1843 by Judge John Barr, who is entitled to be called the first Clevelander to take an interest in local history, occurs one further statement which merits attention. Describing the efforts of the Moravian Indians to find a place to settle on the Cuyahoga, he says:

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[19] "Statement of Amzi Atwater Relating to the Surveys of 1797. Made in August 1850," Whittlesey, *Early History of Cleveland, Ohio*, p. 297.

[20] John Heckewelder to John Christian Alexander de Schweiniz, September 21, 1786, A. L. S. Bethlehem archives.

". . . On the 18th [of June, 1786] after building a sufficient number of canoes, they ascended the River, to a point about one mile north of Tinkers [Creek], where there was an old village, deserted by the Ottaways, here they stopped and located and named the spot Pilgerrah [*sic*] (Pilgrim's Rest)."[21]

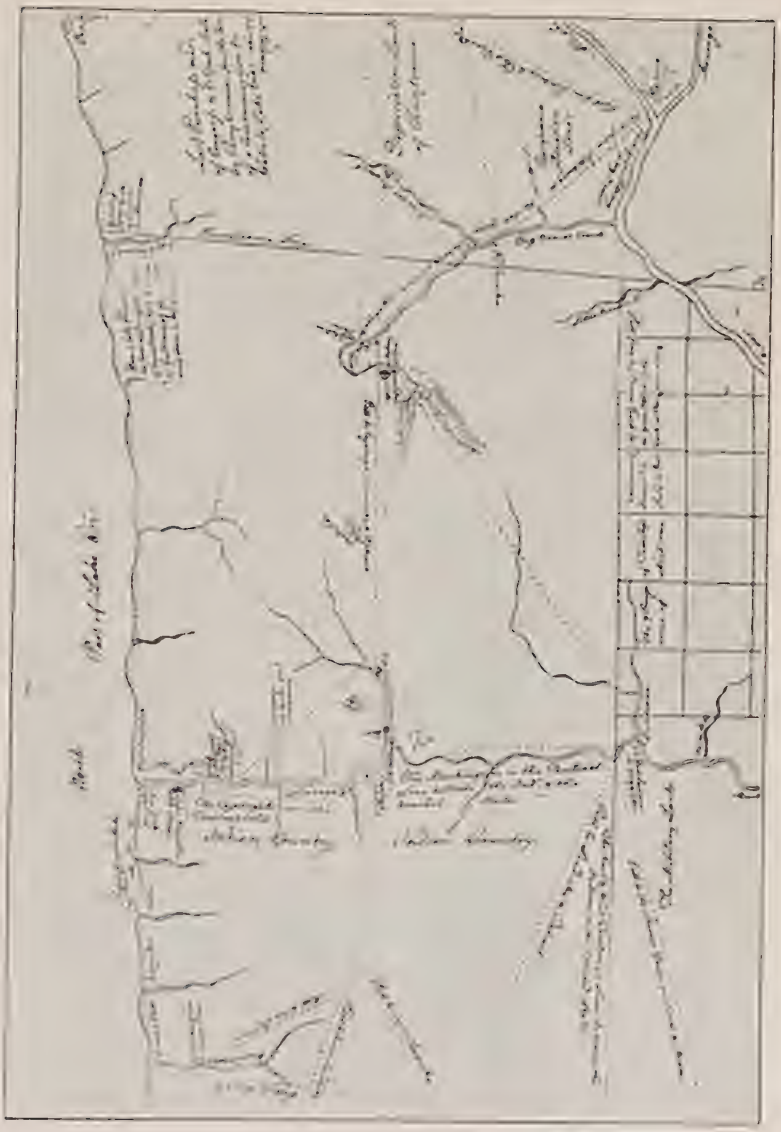
From whom he obtained his information there is no way of telling. But it might well have been Colonel Hillman with whom we know he corresponded.

All these sources just quoted, valuable as they are, are too loosely worded to enable us to determine the exact relation of Pilgerruh to Tinker's Creek. Hillman's description would lead one to believe that it was right at the point where the stream enters the Cuyahoga; Thorn places it "below"; and Atwater speaks of it as being "not far above"; whereas Judge Barr asserts that it lay "about one mile north."

Fortunately the whole situation is clarified by a remarkable manuscript map of Northeastern Ohio, now in the possession of The Western Reserve Historical Society, which was made by John Heckewelder for General Moses Cleaveland in 1796.[22] On this map, the missionary shows the Indian trail followed by Duncan and Wilson's packtrains, which he himself traversed on his way from Pilgerruh to Bethlehem, running from Pittsburgh up the valley of the Big Beaver and its tributary the Mahoning to a point a few miles above the present city of Youngstown, and thence westward past the Salt Springs to Kent, where it branched off from the main trail to Sandusky and continued in a northwesterly direction until it reached the Cuyahoga near its junction with a large stream. In the light of Col. Hillman's description of the route there can be no doubt that this is Tinker's Creek. Indeed, along the ridge just south of its mouth traces of the old trail may still be seen. Somewhat to the *north* of the Creek, between it and a considerably smaller stream, but much closer to the latter, Heckewelder indicates with two little triangular marks the location of the Moravian Indian town. At two places, one near the village and the other a short distance downstream from it, the trail crosses the Cuyahoga and, after

[21] Bound Manuscripts, vol. xix, bk. 9, The Western Reserve Historical Society.

[22] See Map I.

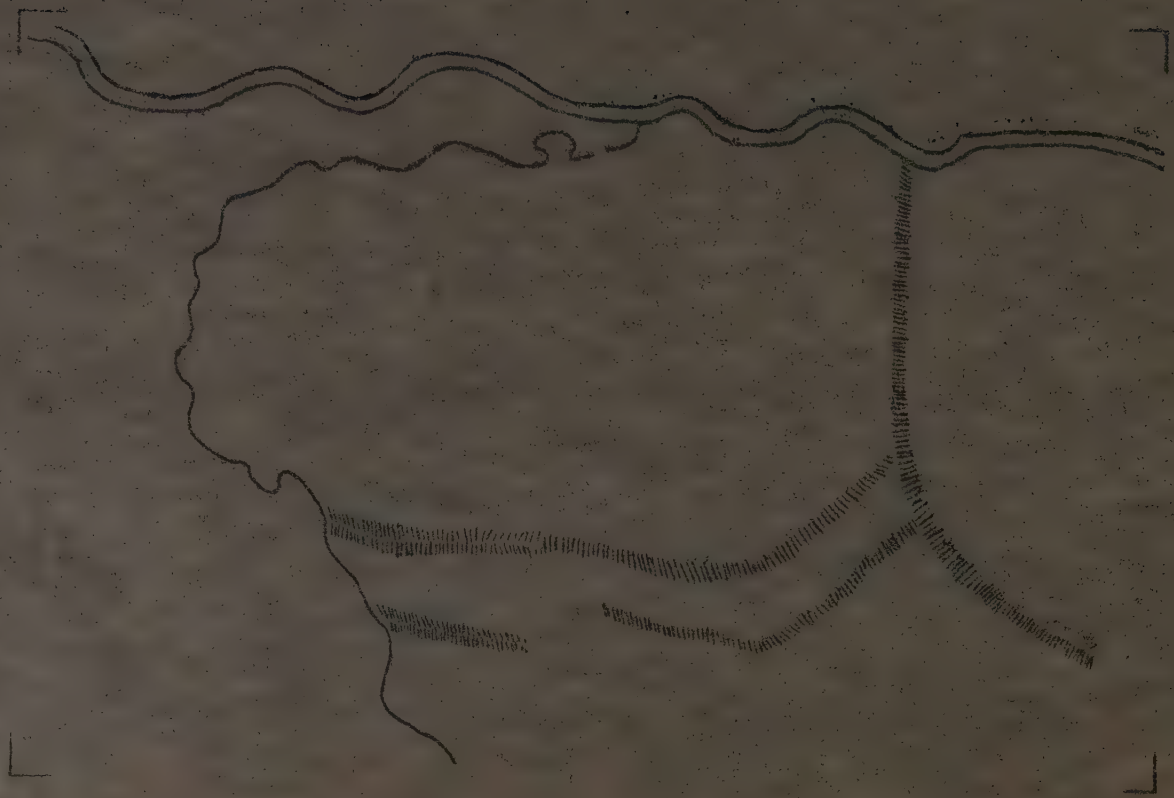


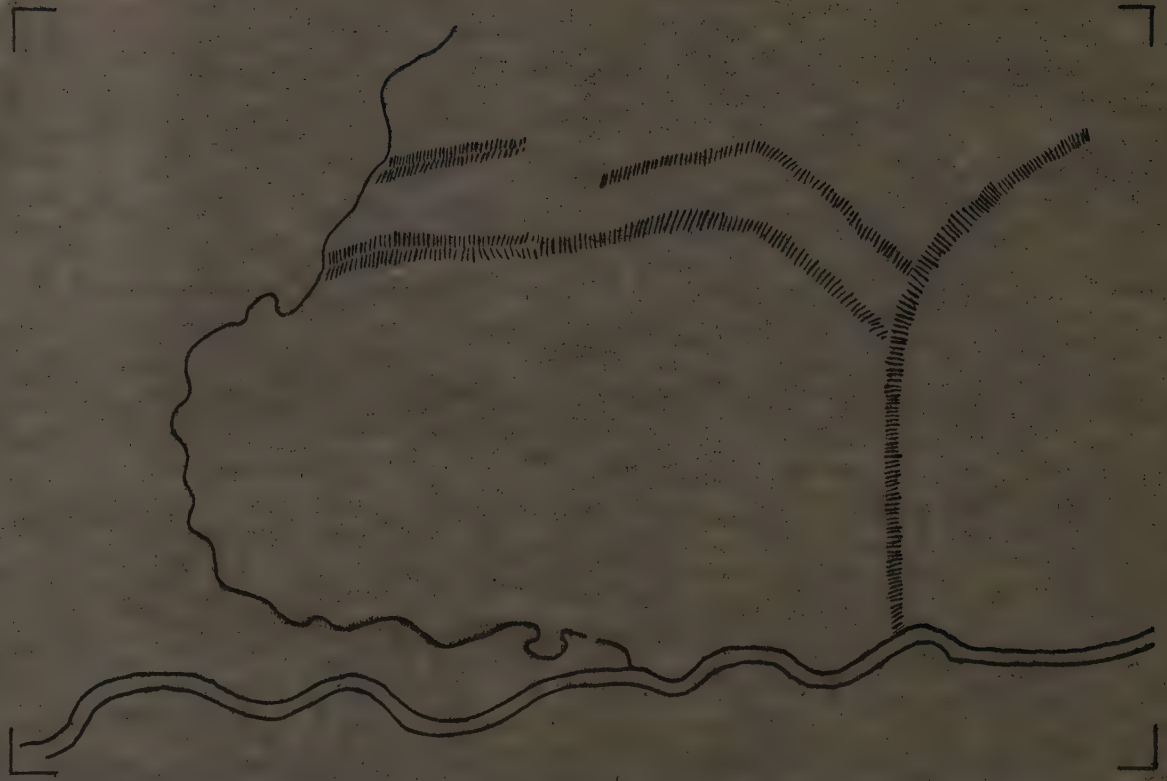
MAP I

Portion of Map of Northeastern Ohio made by John Heckewelder for Gen. Moses Cleaveland, 1796.

MAP II

Map of Pilgerruh drawn by John Heckewelder, 1786.





connecting with another which runs along the west side of the valley, continues on down to the lake shore.

This map is too crude and the scale too small to furnish any topographical details regarding the site. But providentially there is preserved in the Bethlehem archives another map, also by Heckewelder, of Pilgerruh itself.[23] Some unknown person many years ago, apparently disturbed by the irregular layout of the town unlike that of other mission villages, quite unwarrantly drew in a number of lot lines with ruler and pencil; yet the map is otherwise in good condition. Examining each feature in turn, one notices first that the village, though located on an elevation, as we know from Zeisberger's description, was so close to the Cuyahoga that some of the houses appear to have been almost on its banks. To the north and south is lowland, but to the east and southeast are hills. About the latter there can be no question, for not only does Heckewelder write the German word "berg" three times on this portion of the map, but there are visible on the original, although they have faded too much to reproduce in a photograph, a number of what are unmistakably rudely-hatched contour lines. Between these hills and around the northern end of the village flows the little stream which appears on the Moses Cleaveland map, with four small watercourses feeding into it. On the hill behind the town are two springs side by side, and up the river the Indian trail from Pittsburgh is shown crossing over to the west bank on its way to the Lake. Clearly so many different geographical features are represented here that it almost certainly would be impossible to find counterparts for all of them represented on any other site than that of which the map was drawn.

The task of fitting this map to its proper location is complicated by its not having been drawn to scale. Yet rough sketch though it is, we can conclude from certain other pieces of evidence that the area which Pilgerruh covered was rather small. In the passage from Zeisberger's journal already quoted, he remarks that the high ground which the Moravians chose for their encampment was "very wild and thickly overgrown with timber and bushes." In another, written about a month later, he says: "The

[23] See Map II.

place is a wilderness, just as we found it on the River Huron [i.e. the Clinton], not only thickly overgrown with wood, so that sometimes for the sake of one tree it is necessary to cut down several, but there is, also, so dense a thicket that one can hardly see ahead several paces before one.'' As they looked upon the settlement merely as a temporary stopping place, it seems only logical to suppose that when building their houses the Indians cleared no greater a piece of land than was absolutely necessary. Furthermore, a map of New Gnadenhuetten in the possession of the Burton Historical Collection in Detroit, made by a British army surveyor at the time John Askin and Major Ancrum agreed to purchase the town,[24] shows quite plainly that this settlement, which was built by the very same Indians who lived at Pilgerruh and consisted of almost the same number of houses, though laid out in individual lots along a central street measured only about one hundred and forty feet from end to end. Even the streets of Schoenbrunn, the largest of the mission villages (which had over sixty houses as compared to twenty-seven at Pilgerruh), were only about 866 and 566 feet long, respectively, and the whole area enclosed within the fence surrounding the town was not more than eight or ten acres.[25]

Presumably largely on the basis of Colonel Hillman's statement, local historians who gave their attention to the problem of locating the site of Pilgerruh early decided—though just how early I cannot as yet say—that it probably stood on a hilltop just north of the mouth of Tinker's Creek on what is known as the Cary farm.[26] During the 1880's picnics were held there in commemoration of the Moravians' sojourn on the Cuyahoga by a number of historically minded people headed by Mr. Hiram W. Addison, who was very prominent in the activities of the Early Settlers Association in Cleveland. Evidently chiefly as a result of these gatherings, a strong tradition grew up in the surrounding countryside that their meeting-place was without any question the site. That an Indian village once occupied this

[24] This map has been reproduced in *The John Askin Papers*, vol. i (M. M. Quaife, ed., *Burton Historical Records*, vol. i). Detroit, 1928.

[25] For these figures, I am indebted to the Hon. O. J. Demuth, Superintendent of the Schoenbrunn Memorial State Park.

[26] See Map III.

MAP III

Cuyahoga Valley in the vicinity of Pilgerruh

1. Cary farm site
2. Rockside road site
3. Pilgerruh.

hilltop is very likely, for arrowheads may still be picked up there in considerable numbers, but even a casual comparison of its topography with Heckewelder's map will suffice to show that it has none of the features which he has set down.

Realizing that this could not possibly have been the site, five or six years ago several Clevelanders turned their attention to the imposing plateau which lies between Rockside and Stone Roads some distance north. Here, it was pointed out, was a location which seemed to answer both the descriptions of the missionaries and the conditions of Heckewelder's map. Enough Indian relics have been found to make it reasonable to conclude that it was once a village site. To the north and south stretch large areas of lowland, and across the river are cornfields still. Cutting through the northern edge of the plateau are deep ravines resembling in a general way three of the four watercourses feeding into Heckewelder's brook. It is true that the stream into which they flow bears little resemblance to that on the map of Pilgerruh, and has in fact almost disappeared; but this discrepancy might perhaps be explained on the grounds that the topography of the valley in this vicinity has been considerably altered by drainage projects and the building of highways, a railroad, and the Ohio Canal. In a gully running down toward Stone Road are springs which might be imagined to correspond to the two which Heckewelder shows rising nearly side by side. and at the point where this road bridges the Cuyahoga somewhat to the southwest of the plateau there is a large riffle where, according to tradition, an Indian trail used to cross.[27]

However several major objections must be raised to the choice of this site which eliminate it from further consideration. To locate Pilgerruh here, is to disregard completely the testimony of Colonel Hillman and Captain Thorn, who visited the town, and Amzi Atwater, who saw it in ruins, that it stood somewhere in the vicinity of Tinker's Creek, for the brook at Rockside Road is a good two miles north of it. Even supposing that in 1786 the Cuyahoga flower closer to the base of the plateau than it does at present, a town built upon its summit would still be a

[27] *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, November 20, 1931; *Cleveland News*, February 28, 1932. See Map III.

considerable way from the river's edge. And, an old traverse made only twenty years after the founding of Pilgerruh would seem to indicate that the river bed at this point lay even farther westward then than now.[28] Still more significant is the fact that the hills which Heckewelder so plainly shows are simply not here to be found. Finally, and most important of all, the site is far too big. From one end to the other the plateau measures half a mile. In view of what Zeisberger says of the wooded condition of the land, and the known dimensions of New Gnadenhutten and Schoenbrunn, it is incredible that the huts of the Indians Zacharias and Elizabeth at the northern end of the village and those of Lucas, Renatus, and Helena at the southern could have been any such distance apart, though this would have to be the case if one were to try to stretch the missionary's map to fit this location.

Now let us turn back for a moment to Heckewelder's map of Northeastern Ohio. It has already been pointed out that he shows Pilgerruh to have been situated somewhat north of the mouth of Tinker's Creek, close to a much smaller stream. Taking the map literally, one would suppose that the latter would be the first creek north of Tinker's,[29] which is not the one at Rockside Road at all, but another which enters the Cuyahoga near the junction of Hathaway and Canal Roads some ways up the river.

Acting upon this conjecture, early in the fall of 1936 I made a careful examination of the terrain at this point and was immediately struck by the manner in which it fulfilled Zeisberger's description and the resemblances which it bore to Heckewelder's sketch of the village and its environs.[30] Here is a piece of level land, sufficiently elevated above the river to be called a plateau, yet neither so lofty nor so far away that houses built upon it would be more than a short distance from the water's edge. There

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[28] The surveyor's notes for this traverse of 1806 are in the possession of The Western Reserve Historical Society.

[29] Though the present writer made this observation quite independently, it should be pointed out—as he afterwards found—that it was first made by Mr. Peter H. Kaiser in an address delivered before The Western Reserve Historical Society, in 1894, entitled "The Moravians on the Cuyahoga."

[30] See Map IV.

MAP IV

The Pilgerruh Site at the present day.

is lowland to the north and southwest, and plenty of room for cornfields across the Cuyahoga. Behind the plateau rise hills that match surprisingly well the rude contours which the missionary has drawn. Running down their slopes to join the brook are three small watercourses, of which one still has a spring at its head, and traces of a fourth, all bearing the same relation to each other as those on the map. As for the brook itself, though its channel has been straightened in its lower reaches in connection with a drainage project, contours indicate that at one time it curved around the northwestern end of the plateau in a great loop just as did the stream which Heckewelder shows. Moreover, close together on the hillside are the counterparts of his two adjacent springs. From the appearance of the plateau, it is evident that considerable portions of the side toward the river must have been cut away when the Ohio Canal and Canal and Hathaway Roads were built, and this is confirmed by the county engineer's office. As there is room even now for a hamlet of twenty-seven small huts, it was certainly large enough a century and a half ago, before any of these artificial changes in the topography were made.

This site, which is sufficiently near Tinker's Creek to be properly spoken of as being in its vicinity, ties in also with the other descriptions that we have of Pilgerruh. Where Hillside Road bridges the Cuyahoga a short distance south of here, and within sight of Tinker's, is a riffle which would make an excellent fording places and agrees far better with the inference from Colonel Hillman's account that he crossed the Cuyahoga near the Creek than does the riffle at Stone Road previously mentioned. This one is known to have been in existence as far back as 1811, as its position is marked on two old road surveys.[31] In all probability, this was the upper crossing place shown on Heckewelder's map of Northeastern Ohio, and the Stone Road one the lower. Captain Thorn, it will be recalled, speaks of the houses of the Moravians as being on a "hog's back." An examination of the topography of the Cuyahoga Valley will show that for a distance of several miles downstream from Tinker's Creek,

[31] Survey of Tinker's Creek Road, 1811, and Survey of a Road from the Rapids of the Cuyahoga below Tinker's Creek to the State Road at Hubbel's Mill, 1813, Cuyahoga County Road Records, A., pp. 10,127.

there is no hill close to the east bank of the river to which this term could possibly be applied except the one near Hathaway Road on which the twin springs are situated. Finally, it is interesting to note that this location agrees perfectly with Judge Barr's statement, for it is almost exactly "one mile north of Tinker's."

In the hope of finding some tangible evidence of the village, as had been done in the case of Schoenbrunn, The Western Reserve Historical Society decided to undertake an archaeological investigation of this site. Naturally, as Pilgerruh was occupied for so short a time, it was not expected that much in the way of relics would be found, yet it seemed not unlikely that traces might be left of the chapel or some of the huts. After permission to dig had been obtained from the owner, the county engineer very kindly agreed to have a group of surveyors draw up a special topographical map of the plateau and its nearby hills, and arrangements were made with the National Youth Administration for laborers.

Unfortunately many obstacles stood in the way of the work. As three houses, with their adjacent barns, lawns, bushes, gardens, and strawberry beds now occupy the plateau, the area open to digging was restricted and some of the most likely places eliminated from consideration. Owing also to various unavoidable delays, it was impossible for excavating to begin until after the middle of November, 1936, when winter weather was rapidly approaching. Though the best way to explore an archaeological site is obviously to strip off all the dirt over the entire area down to virgin soil, we could adopt no such plan, both because it was required of us that the land be disturbed as little as possible and because the number of workmen available—never more than eight—was far too small. Under the circumstances the only practical course to take seemed to be to cover as much of the area as we could with a gridiron of trenches two and a half feet to three feet wide and about ten to twelve feet apart, dug down to the virgin yellow clay. By doing this we would stand a good chance of coming upon the remains of any buildings which might be hidden below the surface.

In three weeks of digging, before frosts and snow put a stop to the work, three circular stone fireplaces and remnants of

some eight to ten posts, now nearly reverted to earth, were brought to light, as well as a few arrowheads, a number of hand-wrought nails, and some fragments of clay pipes. The fireplaces and posts are undeniable evidence that Indian huts once stood here. But whether they formed part of the Moravian village, or date from an earlier and different settlement, one cannot definitely say, for though the positions of the posts were carefully measured and plotted they are too scattered to form the outlines of buildings which might be identified with those on Heckewelder's map. The arrowheads obviously have nothing to do with the Christian Indians, who used guns, but at least some of the nails and pipes possibly may. In any case, the paucity of the remains rather leads to the conclusion that the land on which stood a large part of the village, including the meeting-house, was destroyed when the western edge of the plateau was cut away during the construction of the roads and the Ohio Canal.

Yet disappointed though we were in our attempt to unearth another Schoenbrunn, in view of the extraordinary way in which the general topography bears out the descriptions and maps, there is no doubt in the minds of those who have carefully considered the evidence and examined the ground that this is the long sought for site.

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

October 19, 1939

The meeting convened in the museum of the Whitefield House, Nazareth, Penna., October 19, 1939, at 11 a. m., the President, Dr. W. N. Schwarze, presiding. Eleven members were present.

The minutes of the last annual meeting had been approved by the Executive Committee, and reading of them was not called for. The minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee were read and approved as read.

The treasurer submitted his annual financial report. The following is an abstract, viz.:

Cash balance on hand, October 1, 1938	$5,895.00
Receipts	1,242.78
	$7,137.78
Disbursements	876.28
Balance on hand, October 1, 1939	$6,261.50

On motion, the report was accepted and ordered filed.

Dr. Schwarze reported for the Publication Committee that "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society," Vol. XII, Part II, was in press and copies would be ready for delivery shortly.

The Librarian, the Rev. G. M. Shultz, reported that a great many people had visited the Library and Museum during the year. He stated, further, that he had assisted the Nazareth Bicentennial Committee by assembling a mass of data for the "History of Nazareth", now being published. He submitted a list of the items that had been presented to the Museum and Library,

laying special stress on the valuable tracings and blue prints which the chairman of the Nazareth Bi-centennial Historical Committee had made at his personal expense and donated to the Historical Society. He mentioned, also, that many of the picture frames that had been donated had been made from wood taken from Moravian buildings now no longer standing and that had been well-known structures in Nazareth. He stated, too, that gifts of publications of the Pennsylvania German Society would be appreciated for the Historical Society collections.

The Secretary announced the names of applicants for membership, viz., Mr. and Mrs. George A. Sundberg, Mr. and Mrs. Henry B. Rau, Miss Margaret N. Leibert, Miss E. Pauline Leibert, the Rev. Roy Grams, all for active membership.

The election of officers for the ensuing year resulted as follows:

President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Vice-Presidents, The Rt. Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, D.D., the Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D.; Albert G. Rau, Ph.D., L.H.D., LL.D.; the Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D.; Professor Herbert H. Beck, Sc.D.; Archibald Johnston, M.E.; Miss Adelaide L. Fries, Litt.D; the Rt. Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, D.D., L.H.D.

Secretary, William E. Henry.

Librarian, The Rev. George M. Shultz, A.M.

Treasurer, James S. Fry.

Publication Committee, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, D.D., Ph.D.; Professor Albert G. Rau, Ph.D., L.H.D., LL.D., and Harry J. Meyers.

Board of Managers, James S. Fry, William E. Henry, John E. Leibfried.

Library Committee, J. Frederick Knecht, A.M.; the Rev. George M. Shultz, A.M.; the Rev. Paul S. Meinert, A.M.; Andrew G. Kern, George W. Hahn, Professor Samuel C. Zeller, A.M.

Graveyard Committee, William H. Milchsack, A. O. Sturgis, Robert F. Ziegler.

Adjournment.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee met immediately after the adjournment of the business session of the Society, elected the nominees of the morning session to active membership, and adjourned.

VESPER MEETING

About one hundred eighty members of the Society and guests were present for the afternoon session in the social rooms of the Nazareth Moravian Church, at 1:15 p. m. The trombone choir of the Nazareth Moravian Church announced the annual Vesper meeting with several chorale selections. After the Vesper meal, the President announced the names of those members of the Society who had departed to their eternal rest during the past year, viz.: Harvey Kessler, Harry T. Morris, Professor Charles S. Fox, and Stephen A. Trein. The customary memorial hymn was sung, members and guests standing.

The President addressed a few words of greeting and welcome to the assembly and, then introduced the Rev. Kenneth G. Hamilton, professor in the Moravian Theological Seminary and assistant archivist of the Northern Province of the Moravian Church in America, who read an excellent paper on "Bishop John Ettwein and Missionary Activity among the North American Indians." He stressed the notable services rendered by Bishop Ettwein as administrator, setting forth in detail, among other things, his planning and efforts for the reorganization and incorporation of "The Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen." At the conclusion of the reading of the paper, Bishop Paul deSchweinitz gave some account of legal proceedings the Society for Propagating the Gospel was obliged to undertake in connection with land grants to the Society by the government, in the interests of the Mission among the Indians, that had been negotiated by Bishop Ettwein.

After the singing of an appropriate hymn stanza, the President declared the meeting adjourned.

WM. E. HENRY, *Secretary*

In Memoriam

HARVEY KESSLER

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., April 13, 1862. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., July 1, 1939. He joined the Society in 1888.

HARRY T. MORRIS

was born in Pottsville, Penna., January 30, 1870. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., September 23, 1939. He joined the Society in 1912.

PROFESSOR CHARLES S. FOX, PH.D.

was born in Oil City, Penna., November 8, 1868. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., July 5, 1939. He joined the Society in 1918.

STEPHEN A. TREIN

was born in Bushkill Township, Northampton County, Penna., September 16, 1861. He died at Nisky, (near Nazareth, Penna.) January 8, 1939. He joined the Society in 1917.

JOHN ETTWEIN
From a portrait in possession of the Northampton County Historical Society, Easton, Pa.

JOHANNETTA MARIA ETTWEIN
From a portrait in possession of the Northampton County Historical Society, Easton, Pa.

John Ettwein and the Moravian Church During The Revolutionary Period

By

KENNETH GARDINER HAMILTON

Professor of Moravian Church History in the Moravian College and Theological Seminary and Assistant Archivist of the Moravian Church.

Bethlehem, Pa.
Times Publishing Company
1940

PREFACE

Colonial Pennsylvania early became a haven of refuge for religious dissenters from every part of Europe. Two hundred years ago—in April, 1740, to be exact—Moravians also sought shelter within its hospitable borders. Their Church had originated among Bohemiams who cherished the teachings of John Hus. In 1457, a small band of the spiritual followers of that reformer united in a Christian brotherhood, pledging themselves to practice the precepts of the New Testament as faithfully as lay in their power. *Brethren of the Law of Christ* they called themselves and, later, *Unitas Fratrum,* i. e. the Unity of the Brethren. They emphasized piety rather than dogma, sought to familiarize their people with the teaching of the Bible, and maintained strict congregational discipline. The movement prospered. The time was ripe for reform in Bohemia, and powerful nobles, urged by nationalistic ambitions, supported the endeavors of these devout men and women. The *Unitas,* which appealed particularly to the Czechs, spread from Bohemia to Moravia and, later to Poland.[1] In 1609, despite opposition from Catholic Church officials and the imperial house, the Brethren finally won legal recognition in their native land.

Then came the Thirty Years' War. It brought an abrupt end to Protestantism as an institutionalized movement in Bohemia and Moravia. Yet some men like John Amos Comenius, the most famous bishop of the *Unitas,* hoped on for its future renewal and fought stubbornly for its survival in Poland. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, the Moravian Church no longer retained its identity even there.

Then a remarkable series of events led young Count Zinzendorf to offer an asylum on his estate in Saxony to religious exiles from Moravia and Bohemia. They built the town of Herrnhut.[2] This

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[1] Accurate statistics are lacking for this period. Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz estimates the Church in Bohemia and Moravia to have reached between one hundred and fifty and two hundred thousand members before the Lutheran Reformation began.—See his *History of the Church Known as the Unitas Fratum,* page 225.

[2] It lies not far from the Bohemian border in that section of eastern Saxony which belongs to the district of Upper Lusatia. Because many of the earliest inhabitants of Herrnhut were exiles from Moravia the renewed *Unitas Fratrum* became known as the Moravian Church. In time this name was generally accepted. Note however, Ettwein's protest against its use. See page 319.

was in 1722. Though Zinzendorf had no intention, at first, of reviving the *Unitas Fratrum* as a separate communion—he himself strongly favored the union of Christendom rather than the growing tendency toward denominationalism—ultimately he became convinced that God willed this very thing. Thereafter, for thirty years and more, Zinzendorf played a dominant rôle in the Renewed Moravian Church, giving to it the stamp of German pietism as well as other distinctive characteristics contributed by his own religious genius. In 1732, this little Church began its world-wide missionary activity which is too generally known to need elaboration here. However, it took only a few years for Zinzendorf's unorthodoxy to stir up a host of enemies: the Saxon court, influential Lutherans, even pietist leaders in Halle united to condemn him and his Moravian associates. In 1736, he was banished from Herrnhut, though rigorous official investigations subsequently failed to unearth any heresies grave enough to justify state action against the Church as such. Still, its position throughout Europe remained precarious for a number of years. Because Zinzendorf had anticipated the moves of his opponents, he planned to establish Moravian settlements in the new world. There the Brethren would be free to put their ideas into practice, while they labored also for the evangelization of the Indians. In 1735, the Moravians attempted to found a settlement near Savannah, Georgia. For various reasons this effort had to be abandoned after a trial of five years, but better success awaited them in Pennsylvania.

While Zinzendorf lived, the Moravian Church remained very largely under his personal control. He gave considerable latitude in detail of administration to the men who headed the American undertaking from time to time but reserved for himself all vital decisions of policy.[3] Yet the Church was preserved

[3] Zinzendorf had learned to know conditions in this land at first hand by means of an extended visit to America (Nov. 30, 1741 to Jan. 20, 1743.) Moreover, he required detailed reports from every Moravian center, thus keeping thoroughly posted on the current situation of each. Herrnhut continued to receive similar accounts after Zinzendorf's death, and the copies of such records preserved in the Bethlehem archives form valuable material for a study of the period. Mention should be made particularly of the Bethlehem Diary. The diarist, periodically appointed to this office and usually the head pastor of the congregation, kept a careful chronicle of all occurrences which seemed significant to him,

from the worst consequences of one-man rule by frequent resort to the lot.[4] In 1760, Zinzendorf's death ended his paternalistic government over the Church to which he had contributed so much. An "Enger Rat", an emergency council set up by leading Moravians in Germany, directed affairs from Herrnhut until the convening of the so-called "constitutional synods" of 1764 and 1769. The first of these created a rather cumbersome series of departmentalized boards, headed by the Directorium. The second replaced them by a single executive, the Unity's Elders' Conference; its members, however, again were subdivided into three groups charged with particular responsibility for special spheres of administration.[5] Both synods committed the Church to a highly centralized government, the seat of which was to remain in Germany. To head the American province the Unity's Elders' Conference created in turn the Provincial Helpers' Conference for the Whole, the members of which constituted agents, or "helpers", of the European Board.

In Pennsylvania, as indeed wherever they went, the Moravians sought to found "settlement congregations." These were communities open only to bona fide members of the Church so that in them every phase of life could be made to conform to Moravian ideals.[6] Such settlements were intended to be shining ex-

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together with copies of letters and other contemporary documents. The state of the congregation, the missionary activities of the Church, and the life of the whole countryside about Bethlehem are faithfully mirrored in this diary.

[4] For a discussion of this characteristic practice see pages 156 ff.

[5] In the pages that follow, the writer has frequently taken the liberty to designate those men in Germany to whom the supervision of the whole Moravian Church was thus committed, the *Governing Board*. To reproduce the exact title of this body or to specify by its official designation the particular group within the whole board referred to on each occasion would have proven unnecessarily cumbersome.

[6] "Settlement congregations or congregational settlements are places elected by the Saviour Himself, upon which there rests peculiar grace, a phenomenon of the eighteenth century.

Congregations of Jesus, which live apart and conduct themselves toward those within and those without after the strictest rule in agreement with the example and teaching of our Lord. They are constituted of all the Choirs. [See pages 139 f.]. In all of them the effort is made to see to it that each member of the congregation receive instruction in his or her Choir. Thus, through the Holy Spirit, each may gain ability to view the circumstances of human life in the right light and derive full benefit from the incarnation of our Saviour —yes, from all His merits—for the purifying of body and soul, thoughts and inclinations. A peculiar election of grace is needed for this.

amples for the encouragement of earnest believers within other denominations. Moreover, they became centers for missionary activity among heathen Indians and unchurched colonists as well. In time, Indian converts were gathered into communities of their own patterned after the settlement congregations. Adherents won from among the unchurched had to be organized in "town or country congregations", in which Moravian institutions necessarily became modified by the presence of non-members.

By the outbreak of the American Revolution, three main settlement congregations had been established in Pennsylvania: Bethlehem,[7] Nazareth[8] with its filials (Gnadenthal, Friedensthal, Christiansbrunn), and Lititz.[9] In 1774, the Church authorities planned a fourth in New Jersey, Hope.[10]. But this undertaking never prospered and had to be given up in 1808. During the War of Independence sixteen active town and country congregations belonged to the Church in the North.[11] Adherents lived in other

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They are cities of refuge for oppressed children of God, where every occasion for temptation is pruned off as far as possible, and evil avoided.

Where young folk from their earliest years are to receive an impression of the Saviour, to grow in His knowledge, and to be preserved by Him. The story of Jesus' Passion is to be dwelt on often there.

They must conform in externals to the purpose of Christ, so that the salvation of souls may in no way be hindered. Pains are to be taken to prevent diligence in labor from degenerating into entanglement in earthly turmoil. It is an exceedingly dangerous thing to admit families into settlement congregations in the hope that they may be converted *there*, particularly in view of the rearing of children.

Inasmuch as each is a part of the Unity of the Brethren, each is to be subject to the admonition of the same. The Boards of Elders have supervision over the congregation, but they remain subject to the constituted [civil] authority."

Quoted by Ettwein from the Resolutions of General Synod, 1764 and 1769, in his short historical account of the beginning of the settlement at Hope.—See Hope Church Book, 1774-1808.

[7] Some fifty miles north of Philadelphia, on the left bank of the Lehigh River, in what is now Northampton County.

[8] Some ten miles north of Bethlehem, in Northampton County.

[9] Some eight miles north of Lancaster, in Lancaster County.

[10] In Sussex County, not far from the present town of Oxford.

[11] Bethel, Pa.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Lancaster, Pa; Heidelberg, Pa.; Donegal (or Mount Joy), Pa.; Oldman's Creek, N. J.; Hebron, Pa; Emmaus, Pa.; Staten Island, N. Y.; New York, N. Y.; Gnadenhütten (with Allemängel), Pa.; York, Pa.; Sichem, N. Y. (given up during the Revolution); Graceham, Md.; Newport, R. I.; Schöneck, Pa. They are listed approximately in chronological order. In the years prior to the Revolution the number of town and country congregations had fluctuated considerably.

places also and were served more or less regularly. In North Carolina there existed an independent field. There the Governing Board had purchased a tract of nearly one hundred thousand acres in 1753, known as Wachovia.[12] Four settlement congregations had sprung up in that section: Bethabara, Bethania, Salem, Friedberg. Salem[13] soon became the center of Moraviandom in the South. And, because Wachovia developed as an independent province of the Church, no attempt has been made to include it in the present study.

Only sketchy statistics have come to us from this period. But it is safe to say that Moravians represented proportionately a far more considerable section of the population of Pennsylvania in Revolutionary times than now.[14] They were unquestionably more effective in influencing the religious life of the state. As this study will show, both state and federal governments recognized in practical ways their cultural service. Moravians demonstrated initiative and success in fostering industries within their settlements.[15] All of this adds interest to a study of American Mora-

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[12] The Zinzendorf family owned an estate in Austria called Die Wachau (The Wach Valley). Spangenberg, who selected the North Carolina tract, had named it "Wachovia" on Jan. 25, 1753, because it reminded him of that far distant estate. See J. H. Clewell: *The History of Wachovia in North Carolina*, page 9, f.

[13] Now part of the city of Winston-Salem, countyseat of Forsyth County.

[14] Today, for example, it seems almost incredible that Moravians should ever have represented an element to be reckoned with in an election in Philadephia. But A. H. Smyth, editor of *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, reports such an occasion.—See vol. X, page 217: "The Moravians and the Quakers were at the back of the old ticket, the Dutch and the Presbyterians with a sprinkling of Episcopalians supported the new."

John Adams gives 350,000 as the estimated population of Pennsylvania and Delaware in 1774. See *The Works of John Adams*, vol. VII, page 302. In that same year the Moravian Church had a total membership of 2295 in Pennsylvania. Figures for the various congregations follow: Bethlehem, 555; Nazareth, 251; Lititz, 336; Bethel, 50; Philadelphia (figures for 1777), 148; Lancaster, 304; Heidelberg, 68; Donegal, 45; Hebron, 142; Emmaus (figures for 1776), 107; Gnadenhütten (figures for 1776), 76; York, 137; Schöneck (figures for 1776), 74. In 1938, the official statistics of the Moravian Church credit all congregations in Pennsylvania with a membership of 7607.

[15] Famous in its day, for example, was the Bethlehem water wheel which supplied power for six different industries. For details see *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, vol IV, page 206, where E. P. No. 788 is reproduced in full.

viandom at the time when the Colonies were fighting for their independence.

Moreover, the war itself thrust the Church into unforeseen and undesired prominence. During the early years of the Revolution, Bethlehem lay just behind the battle area. Previously, Moravian settlements had represented alien communities within an Anglo-Saxon America. The Brethren could truthfully declare that "whig" and "tory" were meaningless terms for them; the struggle of the Colonies seemed something in which they had no direct concern. Such an attitude made them exceedingly unpopular, of course, in the eyes of the average patriot. And the conscientious scruples which a majority of Moravians then honestly felt against bearing arms, added to their difficulties. In this emergency the Church discovered the abilities of John Ettwein and committed to him the responsibility of negotiating with the American authorities. His force of character, his native sagacity, his pronounced opinions, his command of English, his open personality, all fitted him for this task. The records of the Revolutionary period repeatedly tell of consideration shown the Moravians by leading national figures, this being accentuated by totally different conduct on the part of petty local officials. Without doubt Ettwein's influence among the former may be largely credited for the attitude they assumed.

Apart from passing references to his activities in the standard works on Moravian history, the only accounts of the life and influence of this man hitherto generally available to the public, are two short biographies: one by Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz, published in vol. II of the *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society,* the other a German memoir published at Gnadau, Saxony, in the *Gemein Nachrichten* of the year 1857. Both of them, while accurate and valuable as far as they go, are almost entirely limited to a condensation and harmonizing of various sets of biographical notes which Ettwein himself had prepared according to the Moravian custom in his day. In 1931, Miss A. Gertrude Shields wrote a carefully prepared thesis on *John Ettwein, Bishop of the Unitas Fratrum or Moravian Church,* which may be consulted in the library of Lehigh University. It is much more than a mere biography and deals with the problems

faced by Moravians in John Ettwein's day. The writer extended her field to include the Southern Province of the Moravian Church in America. A small selection of his letters has been published in vol. IV of the *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society,* and a few more are to be found in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* vol. XXXIX. His article on the traditions, customs, and language of the Indians in North America, referred to on page 194 of this book, appears in the *Bulletin of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,* vol. I. The journal of his travel from Wyalusing on the Susquehanna to Langunto-Utennünk on the Beaver River, was published in vol. XXV of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.* The files of *The Moravian* for 1889 and 1890 contain a translation of a shorter copy of Ettwein's manuscript: *A Short Account of the Disturbances in America, etc.,* which is reproduced in Part II of this book.

The present work treats Ettwein's life and activity largely in the light of his reports and letters, nearly a thousand drafts or copies of which are preserved in the archives of the Moravian Church in Bethlehem, Pa. They form the chief source of this book and are listed in Appendix B for further reference. Various other manuscript records belonging to the archives have also been used extensively; chief among them are: the *Diary of the Moravian Congregation of Bethlehem;* the *Minutes of the Provincial Helper's Conference* ("Protocoll der Oeconomats-Conferenz"); the *Minutes of the Bethlehem Board of Elders* ("Protocoll der Aeltesten-Conferenz in Bethlehem"); memoirs, diaries of neighboring Moravian congregations, and various records belonging to the Bethlehem congregation. The great majority of these documents are written in German and the writer is responsible for all translations except as otherwise noted.

The more important printed sources consulted in the preparation of this book are the following. *Moravian: Büdingische Sammlung Einiger In der Kirchen-Historie Einschlagender Sonderlich neuerer Schrifften;* Edmund de Schweinitz: *The Life and Times of David Zeisberger;* Hellmuth Erbe: *Bethlehem, Pa., Eine Kommunistische Herrnhuter-Kolonie des 18. Jahrhunderts;* Adelaide L. Fries: *Records of the Moravians in North*

Carolina, vol. I-IV; J. T. Hamilton: *A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church;* J. M. Levering: *A History of Bethlehem, Pennslyvania, 1741-1892;* G. H. Loskiel: *The History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America;* William N. Schwarze: *The Moravian Settlement of Bethlehem—It's Courage; It's Vision; It's Ideals;* and the *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society. Non-Moravian: Bulletin of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Colonial Records—Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania;* Peter Force: *American Archives;* Samuel Hazard: *Pennsylvania Archives; Journals of the American Congress; Journals of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania;* Frank Moore: *Correspondence of Henry Laurens of South Carolina; The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography;* J. J. Sessler: *Communal Pietism Among Early American Moravians.*

The author would like to express his gratitude to many friends who have helped him in various ways to bring this book to completion; he remains particularly indebted to his wife; to his father, Bishop J. T. Hamilton; to archivists of the Northern and Southern Provinces of the Moravian Church, Dr. William N. Schwarze and Dr. Adelaide L. Fries; and to that member of the faculty of Columbia University who guided his researches, Prof. H. W. Schneider. To the courtesy of the librarians of the collections listed in the last section of Appendix B, the author owes much of the information therein contained.

This book is offered to the public in the hope that it may help its readers to become familiar with a Church which, though small, believes it has reason to cherish the story of its past and with a man who played no mean rôle in it when it faced the crucial period of the Revolutionary War. May all who assisted the writer find satisfaction in having contributed to this end.

KENNETH G. HAMILTON

CONTENTS

Part I. The Career of John Ettwein

Page

Chapter 1. Biography 101

Birth, childhood, and life until marriage. Data regarding his children. Stay in London. First activities in America. Family life. Official position and relations with other workers. Contributions to the intellectual life of his period. Contact with American leaders. Consecration as bishop and close of life.

Chapter 2. Administration of Bethlehem 131

Ettwein as official correspondent of the American Church. Ettwein's position in the transition following the Economy. Ettwein faced with financial problems. The use of the lot in Ettwein's day. Marriage in Ettwein's day. The trend toward independence from German control of the Church.

Chapter 3. Administration of Missions 172

Ettwein's views on missions and contact with them. His estimate of the Indian mission. His estimate of the workers. His emphasis upon method. Special problems: impermanence of stations, new work, development of native workers, conversion of chiefs, administration of local stations. Polygamy and Christian marriage. Attitude toward Indian traditions. Literary work and mission schools. The *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Among the Heathen.* Land grants in Penn'a and Ohio. Appraisal of the Indian mission.

Part II. Selections from Ettwein's Papers

A Short Account of the Disturbances in America and of the Brethren's Conduct and Suffering in This Connection [Translation] 215

Introductory essay. The historic position of the Moravian Church toward war. The Act of Parliament in 1749. The attitude of Spangenberg and Ettwein. Difficulties raised by the Test Act. Ettwein's views regarding it. His final acceptance of the new order.

Events leading up to the Revolution. The Moravians appeal to Franklin. Their attitude stated in a circular. Further national events and the struggle of factions in Penn'a. The Moravian *Daily Readings* in this period. Bethlehem involved in the war. Appeals to Laurens and Washington. Petitions to Congress and the Assembly. Ettwein's experiences in York and Lancaster. The crisis for Bethlehem. The Test Act amended. The further course of the war, 1778 to 1781.

A Few Remarks on the Reasons of the General-Assembly of Pensilvania, for not Granting the Petition of the Moravians, as Published in the Gen'l Advertizer 25th of May 1778 318

Editorial note.

Ettwein's argument.

Letter of John Ettwein to Bishop Hehl, June 1st [1777?] [Translation] 322

Editorial note.

Ettwein's argument.

Account of Brother Ettwein's Journey through Newyork—Connecticut—and Rhode-Island—Government in March and April 1773 [Translation] 327

Editorial note.

Travel incidents. A prayer meeting in Lansingburg. Saratoga springs. An interview with Sir William Johnson. Stay in Sichem. Public testimony in New London. Visit in Newport. The return journey. Comment on the state of religion in New England.

Brother Ettwein's Account of His Visit in Langunto-Utenünk on the Beaver Cr., and Welhik Tuppeck, on the Muskingum River [Translation] 341

Editorial note.

Conference with workers. Resolutions concerning translation. Location of Schönbrunn. Interview with Netawatwes. Glikhikan's former life. His dream. His account of the Indian nations. Decision to evangelize the Shawnees. Ettwein returns to Langunto-Utenünk. Mr. Maccluer's mission. Gnadenhütten to be begun. Crops raised by Indians and missionaries. Ettwein's journey to Pittsburgh. Description of the place. Col. Croghan. Ettwein's return to Bethlehem.

Short History of the Indian Mission 358

Editorial note.

Review of events from 1740-1789.

Ettwein's Account of the Massacre at Gnadenhütten, Ohio.... 361

Editorial note.

Story of the tragedy.

Letter to Christian Indians 365

Editorial note.

Appeal to Indians to stand stedfast in faith and to keep the peace.

An Appeal to Heathen Indians 368

Editorial note.

Ettwein presents the claims of Christianity.

Letter of John Ettwein to Dr. William Linn, March 3, 1798.. 371

Editorial note.

Motives required of and dangers to be avoided by missionaries. Present status of the Moravian work. Its means of support. Agriculture promoted. Relation to chiefs and government. Divorce of missions and trade. Heckewelder's hypothesis. Ettwein's approval of interdenominational prayer.

APPENDIX

A. A Chronicle of Ettwein's More Important Journeys in America 377

B. A Catalogue of the Ettwein Papers 382

Collections in Bethlehem, Pa., Winston-Salem, N. C., Washington, D. C., Philadelphia, Pa., New York, N. Y., Charleston, S. C.

C. A Calendar of the Henry Laurens—John Ettwein Correspondence 410

Abbreviations 412

Index 413

ILLUSTRATIONS

John Ettwein ..... *Frontispiece*

Johannetta Maria Ettwein ..... *Frontispiece*

Facing Page

Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1793 131

Ettwein's Map of Schönbrunn, Ohio 176

Certificate Issued to Ettwein by Governor Thomas Mifflin.... 204

First Page of Ettwein's Account of the Revolutionary War.. 225

First Page of a Letter from Ettwein to the Christian Indians 366

PART I

The Career of John Ettwein

Chapter 1

BIOGRAPHY

Of necessity, the Moravian Church in America was led in its earliest period by men who not only had a European background but who had become known because of their activity in the old world. During the second half of the eighteenth century, however, a remarkable man arose to prominence in Bethlehem. This was John Ettwein, who can roughly be "placed" by the student as the first Moravian to have been consecrated a bishop in Bethlehem in recognition of the position he had attained there.[1] For though John Ettwein had served an apprenticeship in Europe, he came to this country a comparatively unknown and unimportant man. His life work is almost wholly identified with the story of the Moravian Church in America. It was his privilege to render very distinguished service to this branch of the Unity of the Brethren in a time of peculiar crisis and in a period when the American Church began to develop along lines of its own.

John Ettwein was born in Freudenstadt, Württemberg, on June 29, 1721. Of French Hugenot stock, he inherited a tradition of loyalty to the faith at all costs. In 1620 his great grandfather, Jean Edwin, had fled from religious persecution in Savoy, finding refuge at St. Georgen in the Black Forest as a lad of sixteen, who had lost both his parents and who could speak no word of German. Ettwein's maternal grandparents had been Protestant exiles from Kärnthen in Austria. They were among the first settlers whom Duke Frederick of Württemberg permitted, in conformity with a vow he had made, to build a city on his forest-clad hills. They called their new home Town of Joy (Freudenstadt), because in it freedom of conscience and worship would be theirs.[2]

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[1] Two Moravian bishops had been consecrated in Bethlehem prior to Ettwein: on Oct. 18, 1770, John Martin Mack, for service in the Danish West Indies; on June 6, 1773, John Michael Graff, pastor of the Salem congregation and head of the Church in North Carolina during von Marschall's absence.

[2] Ettwein's grandfather, Jos. Ettwein, was born April 24, 1650; his grandmother, Anna Hackringos, March 21, 1655; his father, Matthias,

Though his parents were poor, they dedicated their first-born to the service of God and did their best to educate him well. They sent John to the local "Latin school", where he so profited by his instruction that he could be appointed "provisor" in the "German school" at the age of fifteen, which position he held for three years. He showed considerably less diligence, however, in learning his father's trade, a fact which he lived to regret. He grew up a rather headstrong, emotional boy. Accounts of the Saviour's sufferings stirred him deeply, as did the history of the early persecutions of the Christian Church; indeed he cherished a secret ambition to become a martyr himself.

When fourteen years old, an epidemic of spotted fever visited Freudenstadt; it was to affect Ettwein's future profoundly. He himself escaped with a comparatively light attack, but it deprived him of the love and influence of his God-fearing mother. The town's two clergymen were carried away as well. Temporarily, two earnest young pietist students filled their places, one of them applying himself to the instruction of a large group of confirmands, to whom Ettwein belonged. It was in this connection that Ettwein first heard of the Moravian Church; he even learned some of its hymns by heart. The confirmation and his first communion remained unforgettable experiences.[3]

Soon after this, Ettwein began to attend meetings held by a number of Pietists in Freudenstadt, braving his father's anger and his cobbler's strap in doing so. Young Ettwein was already endowed with a conscience strong enough to override mere considerations of expediency and the advice of well meaning friends. In the end his father became reconciled, and the lad was made lector, precentor, and assistant leader of the pietist group. Yet he remained conscious of constant backsliding, so that the visit of two Moravian itinerant evangelists in 1737—the first to reach his home town—appeared providential. It led to a season of great spiritual distress for him, which ended, however, in a vision of

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February 23, 1694. See E. P. No. 145. Ettwein's mother was Elizabeth Margaretha, m.n. Vogler. See entry of Ettwein's death in Bethlehem Church Record book. In 1798 a brother, Gottlieb Ettwein was still living in Stuttgart. See E.P. No. 819. A sister, Dörl Kohler, resided then in Zweybrücken. See E.P. Nos. 333 and 819.

[3] Some fifty years later Ettwein wrote a warm and grateful letter to the man who had instructed and confirmed him. See E.P. No. 976.

Christ on the Cross and a Voice which comforted him: "Behold the Lamb of God that hath borne thy sin." Came peace and, with it, an intense desire to cast his lot with the Moravian Church. For more than a year and a half his father steadily opposed this wish. Finally, in October 1739, the father yielded. With a light heart Ettwein slung his bundle over his shoulder and started north.[4] This was the first of endless journeyings which were to fill his life from then on. Looking back at its close, Ettwein wrote: "Because I have travelled much, one might call me the pilgrim."[5] Hardly had he left his home, when soldiers arrived to fetch

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[4] In his autobiography Ettwein stresses the fact that the Moravian daily watchword for his birthday that year had read: "Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee, and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee; I have appointed thee a prophet unto the nations" Jer. 1:5. Presumably, however, he heard of this only after his accession to the Moravian Church. The use of daily watchwords had been begun by Count Zinzendorf as early as 1728, but was fully and officially introduced by him in the year 1731. A booklet then appeared containing a verse of Old Testament Scripture for each day, accompanied by interpretative lines from the hymnal. After Zinzendorf's death the booklet was enlarged by the addition of daily doctrinal texts from the New Testament. The watchwords were chosen by lot after prayer; they were intended to direct the devotions of all members of the Church, so that they might preserve close spiritual unity even though physically distant from each other. In addition, Moravians early came to believe that they could find special guidance for their conduct by reverent attention to the message of the watchword for the day. Repeated references in Ettwein's letters, diaries, and autobiography show how completely he himself subscribed to such a belief.

[5] E.P. No. 107. In E.P. No. 109, he wrote: "7 times I travelled on the sea between Holland and England. 3 times on the ocean.

Twice (200 miles) between Boston and province Maine, Broadbay. 12 times, therefore, God permitted me to behold His wonders on the deep and brought me safe to land.

11 journeys I made on foot in Europe, about 600 German miles. Two journeys with the post chaise between Hhag [Herrnhaag] and Holland—90 German miles.

1 journey on water, the Rhine, 50 German miles.

Twice between Zeist and Hhuth [Herrnhut] to Gnadenfrey, by post chaise, etc., 250 German miles.

Total about one thousand German miles [about four thousand nine hundred miles] . . . In the first 5 years of the 40 which I have spent here in the service of the Moravian Church in America, I travelled more than 1500 miles on foot, either alone or with my dear wife, in connection with my work among the children and in other affairs. All told, I have made 67 journeys on land up to the year 1795. The shortest of them was 60 miles, the longest about 11 hundred. I have journeyed more than 20,000 miles as a pilgrim in the United States between Massasuchet and Georgia. I have preached the gospel publicly in all of them (with the exception of Delaware State and Kentuki.)"

"the young Pietist"; for, without his being aware of it, the local authorities had decided to enroll him as a conscript in the ducal army. And for a time it went hard with his father, since he could give no information as to the whereabouts of his son. The latter pushed steadily on. Near Darmstadt, all his small store of worldly goods were stolen from him by an accommodating wagoner, who first gave him a lift. The very staff which he had used along the road broke just as Ettwein reached the gate of Marienborn,[6] and he said to himself rather ruefully: "Now I am poorer than Jacob was when he crossed the Jordan"; then, like a flash came the assurance that this must be a favorable omen, and that he would find an abiding place here among the Brethren.

Ettwein arrived at Marienborn on Countess Zinzendorf's[7] birthday. To this fact and to the day's favorable watchword (Ezekiel 2:2), Ettwein ascribed an immediate interest taken in him by Count Zinzendorf,[8] Leonard Dober,[9] and other church leaders. Yet Ettwein, like all applicants for membership, had to undergo a searching examination into his beliefs and motives before being allowed to unite with the Moravians. In his case, this led to a deeper insight into the nature of faith and the fulness of divine grace offered to believers. And in the fact that

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[6] Marienborn was a castle in Wetteravia, situated near Frankfurt on the Main. Zinzendorf had rented it, in 1738, while banished by the Saxon government from his estate at Berthelsdorf. Not only Zinzendorf resided in it, with his immediate family, but also that company of Moravian men and women with whom he surrounded himself, who served as his advisors, on occasion, also, as his representatives.

[7] Erdmuth Dorothea Countess von Zinzendorf, born Countess von Reuss, Nov. 7, 1700, died at Herrnhut, June 19, 1756. She became Zinzendorf's wife in 1722 and by her wise administration of his estates contributed largely to the preservation of the Moravian Church.

[8] Nicholas Lewis Count von Zinzendorf, born at Dresden, May 26, 1700, died at Herrnhut, May 9, 1760. Strongly influenced by Pietism in his boyhood, he permitted religious exiles from Moravia to found the town of Herrnhut on his estate and eventually joined with them in renewing the old Bohemian church known as the Unitas Fratrum. He was consecrated the second bishop of the renewed Moravian Church, in 1738, and remained its outstanding patron and leader as long as he lived.

[9] John Leonard Dober, born at Münchsrode, Suabia, March 7, 1706, died at Herrnhut, April 1, 1766. A potter by trade. Noted as having been the first missionary to be sent from Herrnhut (1732, to St. Thomas, D. W. I.) and the last individual to hold the office of *Chief Elder* in the Moravian Church.

he was permitted to tarry in Marienborn, Ettwein saw a particular instance of the grace of God, even though it involved a season of physical distress for him. The authorities expected him to earn his living as a cobbler. But he had acquired so little proficiency in this trade that for six weeks he lived literally on bread and water. It is characteristic of him that he made no complaint and that only by chance his plight became known to his newly found friends. The joy of living in the spiritual atmosphere of Marienborn more than compensated him, in his own opinion, for such hardship. Yet undernourishment demanded its toll; for a number of years he suffered from severe illnesses. There were indications of serious lung trouble particularly in 1743.[10]

Meantime Ettwein began his career in the Church. He was received into it at the end of March, 1740, and reconfirmed on April third, in the same year. Shortly thereafter, the authorities made him assistant in the boys' institute at Herrnhaag.[11] That October he was permitted to take communion with the Brethren for the first time, Spangenberg[12] presiding in this celebration of the sacrament, and Leonard Dober laying his hands upon him and blessing him. In 1741 he became assistant worker among the older boys, into which office Zinzendorf himself inducted him;

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[10] Ettwein records having had a "phantasy" during a critical attack of spotted fever in 1742. He heard a voice informing him he would not be permitted to enter the presence of his Saviour until he should have preached the gospel to the souls of the soldiers who had recently fallen in a campaign in the Netherlands, and win five hundred of them for his Lord. When, in after years, he served as volunteer chaplain in the Continental Hospital in Bethlehem, this vision often recurred to him. He also found it of personal help as a commentary of I Peter 3:18-4:6. E.P. No. 978.

[11] Herrnhaag, a Moravian settlement begun near Marienborn in 1738, became a "second Herrnhut" during the years of Count Zinzendorf's banishment from Saxony. The whole of the Wetteravian development was abandoned by the Moravians in 1750, when the owners of the land and the Church failed to reach agreement upon mutually acceptable terms for a renewal of its lease. This resulted in heavy financial loss for the Church and was one of the factors which subsequently threatened it with bankruptcy and extinction.

[12] Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, born at Klettenberg, Germany, on July 15, 1704, died at Herrnhut, Sept. 18, '92. A graduate of Jena, who left the faculty of the university of Halle in 1733 to unite with the the Moravians at Herrnhut. He rendered the Church notable service as administrator, advocate of missions, and theologian. Author of *Idea Fidei Fratrum* and other works. He was consecrated a bishop in 1745.

moreover, he was now permitted to enroll among the hourly intercessors.[13]

Because of Ettwein's physical condition, it was thought best to remove him from all contact with children. He therefore became one of Zinzendorf's personal servants upon the latter's return from America in 1743. This also contributed to Ettwein's development. Not only did Zinzendorf's personality leave its impress upon him, but he witnessed—in humble capacity, it is true—all decisive developments of this period. In 1744 he was made an acolyte in the Single Brethren's House in Herrnhut, only to be called back to Herrnhaag in less than a year. On March 11, 1746, he married Johannetta Maria Kymbel in Marienborn.[14]

Together they went to Zeist,[15] being among its first inhabitants. There they were appointed deacons of the Church and solemnly blessed for this office. Then they accompanied the Countess of Zinzendorf to London, only to be sent back by the church authorities to Herrnhaag in October of the same year. In 1748, they were among the leading group of Moravians who visited Herrnhut,

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[13] Hourly intercession was one outgrowth of the revival in Herrnhut on August 13, 1727. Men and women pledged themselves to spend an hour in prayer daily, each observing a stated period, so that continuous prayer was offered by the Church night and day. By 1741 membership in this group had become limited to those judged to be spiritually mature.

[14] Johannetta Maria Kymbel (also Kimbel and Kümbel), daughter of Peter Kymbel, was born in Hackenburg, County Sayn, Westphalia, on September 26, 1725. She came to Marienborn in March 1742, united with the Church in 1743, and was made an acolyte in 1745. She died in Bethlehem September 8, 1789, while her husband was in Holland on his return from General Synod in Herrnhut. In her memoir we are informed that she had declined to accompany her husband to Europe in 1788, because she was ailing and feared she might become a trouble to him on the voyage. The same document adds: "It was her chief joy, indeed her very life, to serve her husband and all her Brethren and Sisters, particularly travelling evangelists, and other visitors, yes, all men. She did this tirelessly, gladly, by day and by night." Spangenberg, despite an abiding sense of gratitude to her for services rendered to his own wife in the latter's illness (see page 111) referred to Johannetta Ettwein on one occasion in the following remarkable manner: "Greet you dear wife, who is incomparable in her own way, though she may not be everything you would have her be (after all none of us can be perfect) . . ." (E.P. No. 599) Her end came as a result of dropsy, despite the efforts of the local physician and of a specialist who had been summoned from Philadelphia.

[15] Still an important Moravian center in Holland.

Wehrau, Neusalz, Gnadenberg, Hennersdorf, and Berthelsdorf. Concerning this constant moving to and fro, which was characteristic of Zinzendorf in this period, Ettwein later commented: "Why? I don't know!" Finally, that August, Zinzendorf placed the Ettweins in Herrnhut as heads of the Married People's Choir.[16] Ettwein believed that the watchword selected for his birthday that year, had helped influence the Count in taking this step; it read: "His lamp shined above my head", Job 29:3. Zinzendorf had then remarked to his servant: "See, that means you are yet to become an important person." "Oh no," Ettwein had answered: "it means I should view life as one hid in His side."[17] When given this responsible position in Herrnhut, Ettwein voiced his fears; they were both too young and untrained for such work, he said. Zinzendorf agreed and promised to send a prominent Moravian to relieve them in six weeks' time, but did not do so. There followed a most unhappy experience. This was the height of the so-called "Period of Sifting", when, with few exceptions, the leaders of the Moravian Church fell into extreme religious sentimentality. Ettwein took sides rather rashly. In the end, the situation grew so unbearable, that he left Herrnhut without orders on February 28, 1749, and fled with his wife on foot to Herrnhaag. Looking back later, Ettwein commented: "My importance became a great burden to me."[18] He recognized that this failure had been wholesome for him and had made for his greater usefulness in after years; but it must have been a bitter pill at the time. That March their first child, Anna Benigna, was born in Herrnhaag.[19]

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[16] In the Moravian Church the term *Choir* is frequently used to designate an organized group within the congregation. See page 139 f.

[17] See E.P. No. 105.

[18] See E.P. No. 106.

[19] John and Johannetta Ettwein had six children; two were born in Europe, two in Bethlehem, and two in North Carolina.

Anna Benigna, born in Herrnhaag, June 19, 1749. She grew up in Moravian institutions in Germany. In 1789 she accompanied her father to Bethlehem, becoming his housekeeper and "faithful nurse." After his death she made her home in the Bethlehem Sisters' House, where she died, July 16, 1834. See pages 115 and N.; 128.

Christian, born in Fetter Lane, London, Sept. 18, 1752. He was brought to America by his parents in 1754 and educated in Nazareth. After having been apprenticed as shoemaker in Christiansbrunn, he followed this trade in the Brethren's Houses at Nazareth and Bethlehem.

Six months later, Ettwein revisited Württemberg. Little did he dream, as he came away, that he had bidden his boyhood home a last farewell. In Herrnhaag he found a commission awaiting him which took him to London. He arrived there in November, only to be sent back, after a stay of two months, to Herrnhaag as one of Bishop John von Watteville's[20] company. Conditions there soon came to a head. By May 1750, the Moravians were compelled to emigrate from Wetteravia. The Ettweins proceeded to England, leaving their infant daughter behind them in Lindheim [21] so that they might be free for the service of their Lord. Thirty-nine years later that same ministry led to a reunion of father and daughter, but the mother was never to look upon her first-born again.

To still the hunger in their hearts, the Church placed them in charge of the work among children in London, and happy years followed. A little son came to gladden their own home. And, though Ettwein could not have realized this at the time, their stay in London was to fit him for a fruitful career in America by

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In 1781 he decided to make his living as a mason. On Oct. 30, 1782, he was united in marriage by his father with Anna Regina Zahm, to which union four children were given: John, born Jan. 18, 1784; Anna Benigna, June 18, 1787; Maria Dorothea, Dec. 31, 1789; Johanna Elisabeth, Jan. 28, 1794. He died of consumption, Feb. 1, 1798.

Anna Johanna, born in Bethlehem, Sept. 9, 1755 and died there May 27, 1756.

John, born in Bethlehem, Jan. 4, 1758. The following year his parents placed him in school at Nazareth. In 1771 he entered the Single Brethren's House in Bethlehem, there to learn the trade of a saddler. He died in Bethlehem, Dec. 31, 1777. See page 114.

Jacob, born in Bethabara, Aug. 9, 1760. He was brought to the Nazareth school in May, 1764. Later, he became apprenticed in Bethlehem as a cabinet maker. He was married in Lancaster to Dorothea (?). He had three sons and two daughters. John Gottfried, born July 14, 1785; Anna Johanna, born April 2, 1787. Jacob died in Philadelphia on Sept. 28, 1798, having become infected with yellow fever by patients for whom he had cared during a severe epidemic. See pages 114, 115 and N.

Maria Magdalena, born in Bethabara, Sept, 30, 1765. Married by her father to Daniel Kleist in Bethlehem on April 25, 1788. Their first two children were John Daniel, born Oct. 1, 1799, and Daniel Ettwein, Feb. 25, 1803. See page 165 N.

[20] Baron John von Watteville, the son of John M. Langguth, a Lutheran clergyman, became successively Zinzendorf's secretary, Frederick von Watteville's adopted son, and the husband of Zinzendorf's oldest daughter, Benigna. He had been consecrated a bishop in 1747.

[21] Lindheim, a castle near Marienborn in Wetteravia, belonging to the von Schrautenbach Family. For a time it housed the educational institutions of the Church.

giving him a command of English which few of the leading men in Bethlehem possessed in his day. And now this epoch in his life was at hand. On March 12, 1754, the Ettweins embarked for America on the *Irene*.[22]

Spangenberg headed the fifty-four voyagers. According to their long established custom, the Moravians did not permit the fact that they were at sea to interrupt their usual activities. All souls on the vessel were organized into a "sea congregation", Ettwein continuing to minister to the children, of whom fourteen were aboard. Fortunately, the water remained calm. On April 20, 1754, the Ettweins came to Bethlehem.[23] They were just in time to participate in the children's Sabbath lovefeast. As he looked upon the two hundred children who were henceforth to belong to his special charge, he could scarcely restrain his emotion. "Then and there I began a new life", he wrote in after years.[24] "Again and again, I was to be put to shame by the very happiness which I experienced, because of the love shown me by my dear Saviour and by my Brethren."[25] "From that moment on I became a true Bethlehemite and a true American."[26]

In those early days, Ettwein labored among the children, not in Bethlehem alone, but throughout the North. His highest aim was to convince them that babes, too, might be privileged to proclaim the death of their Lord. But very soon another interest began to claim him. For, in August, he attended his first Provincial Synod in America; it met in Gnadenhütten.[27] There Ettwein saw what transformation the gospel had wrought in

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[22] A ship built for the Moravians on Staten Island in 1748, to link their settlements in the new world with the home-base in the old. It had been financed largely by a legacy which Spangenberg voluntarily surrendered for this purpose. See Levering: *A History of Bethlehem*, p. 200 and 201.

[23] The company reached Bethlehem in separate contingents, the first group being welcomed with music by the trombone choir from the balcony of the Single Brethren's House—See the Bethlehem Diary.

[24] E.P. No. 108.

[25] E.P. No. 105.

[26] E.P. No. 106.—He later became an American in fact, being naturalized in Philadelphia in September 1768.

[27] A village located on the bank of the Mahony, near its confluence with the Lehigh, where the town of Lehighton now stands. It contained at that time about one hundred and thirty Christian Indians.

less than twenty years in the American forest; saw onetime savages now gathered into a Christian community, tilling rich farms, furnishing Bethlehem with lumber from the mill that also ground their corn; saw proud redmen submitting quietly to the strict discipline insisted upon in Moravian centers; saw them as deeply moved by the word of the Cross and as responsive to forms and services developed in far-off Herrnhut, as any congregation he had known in Germany or England. "And the Indians took possession of my heart," he said, "as had the children in Bethlehem."[28]

Just a year later, the change wrought among the American Indians was to be tragically emphasized in Gnadenhütten. On November 24, 1755, savages attacked this peaceful place, murdered seven missionaries, two missionary wives, and a child; one woman they carried away to a worse fate.[29] Ettwein heard the terrible tidings in New York. Since an attack on Bethlehem seemed imminent, he returned without delay to share whatever fate awaited his wife and new-born babe. The Bethlehem authorities, however, promptly sent him back to his post. When, early in the new year, he was finally permitted to rejoin them, Ettwein met an Indian widow with her two children on the way. She enjoyed a rather unsavory reputation among the Moravians, though she had formerly belonged to the Church. Yet, because she was in fear for her life, Ettwein consented to take her along to Bethlehem, even carrying her four year old son for miles along the rough road. This act won him scant praise from the church fathers, it is true. But twelve years later, when Ettwein paid an official visit to the Indian congregation at Wyalusing on the Susquehanna, "this wicked Ruth" "lifted up her hands and cried: 'That is the Brother who led me back to the Church'."[30] She died in the faith, and Ettwein considered the event to have amply repaid him for any criticism he had undergone.

In 1758, Ettwein was sent to the Moravian colony in Wachovia,

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[28] E.P. No. 106.

[29] This massacre is not to be confused with the slaughter of ninety-six Indians in Gnadenhütten on the Tuscarawas, in Ohio, which took place on March 8, 1782, and was the work of a force of American militiamen.

[30] E.P. No. 106.

North Carolina. For eleven months he served alone as substitute for Christian Seidel, minister of Bethabara. When the latter died, Ettwein stepped into his place. He returned to Bethlehem to fetch his wife who had been unable to accompany him before. Together they left on horseback for North Carolina. It proved a memorable journey, even for so seasoned a traveler as "the pilgrim." They lost their way in the Shenandoah valley which then contained comparatively few settlers. Night came, and they lay down to sleep in the open, under an old, rotten tree. This was September. The exposure brought on a violent fever. Daily Ettwein lay delirious for five or six hours, and utterly helpless. When the paroxysm had passed, he would force himself to mount and push doggedly on. For eight or nine days this ordeal had to be repeated, before they finally reached Roanoke and the house of a friend.

During the following months Ettwein enjoyed Spangenberg's companionship, the latter being forced by his wife's illness to spend the winter in North Carolina.[31] Practically daily these men traveled the road between Bethabara and Bethania, galloping full speed for fear of lurking Cherokees. Later Ettwein deliberately changed his tactics. He left his horse in the stable and walked as leisurely as possible, when going from one settlement to the other. This he did purposely; he preferred being taken prisoner to being shot, for only in the former case would he have had opportunity to preach to his captors. Since Ettwein knew only too well the fate often meted out by Indians to white captives, such a decision was eloquent both of his courage and his faith.

The year 1762 saw Ettwein journeying through South Carolina as an evangelist, visiting Germans in Charleston and along the Saluda and Broad rivers. He preached so acceptably for the Swiss in Orangeburg, that they gave him a formal call to become their settled pastor; they needed a bilingual man like him.

By 1763, he had been appointed head of the Moravian work

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31 Spangenberg never forgot the debt he owed the Ettweins for this. Fourteen years later he wrote: "The way in which you and your dear wife so untiringly and faithfully nursed mine in Wachovia, during her long and severe illness, shall never be forgotten by me or her as long as we live here, nor yet in the life to come." E.P. No. 602.

in North Carolina, and he knew almost every foot of the hundred thousand acres belonging to the Church there. The following year he went north again with his wife, in order to place their youngest son, Jacob, in school in Nazareth. He arrived at Bethlehem in time to receive ordination as a presbyter in the Provincial Synod which had convened there.

In 1765, Ettwein was sent to Savannah, Georgia, to investigate the status of the property which the Moravians had acquired in that neighborhood, thirty years before. He travelled via Charleston and called upon Mr. H. Laurens whose acquaintance he had made in 1761.[32] From this visit there ripened a warm and enduring friendship which was to mean much for the Church during the Revolutionary War. For this South Carolina gentleman then became president of the Continental Congress and repeatedly used his influence to shield the "conscientious objectors" of Bethlehem from the worst consequences of their unpopularity.[33] Even now Laurens pressed upon Ettwein, comparative stranger though he was, a letter of credit for £500. And though the latter did not need to draw upon it, it did secure a standing for him in Savannah which he scarcely could have hoped to have enjoyed otherwise; the backing of so influential a friend gave weight to the claims of an unknown itinerant preacher and helped crown his mission with success. Ettwein also accepted an invitation to preach in the city courthouse on Good Friday and again on Easter Day—this because the Reformed Church minister, Zübli, cherished misgivings as to the soundness of Zinzendorf's theology and therefore refused to let a Moravian clergyman occupy his pulpit.

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[32] The Bethabara Diary records that Mr. Henry Laurens, "a colonel and wine merchant from Charlestown", visited the Moravians in Wachovia during the latter part of January, 1761. He was one who had been influenced by the preaching of Whitefield and desired to learn to know the Moravians better, because of what he had heard concerning them. See A. L. Fries: *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, vol. I, pages 234 and 235.

[33] Henry Laurens also planned to reserve two thousand acres of land which he owned in South Carolina for a Moravian settlement. However, he died before the Church had taken possession and his heirs held other views. Details of this project and of its ultimate failure appear in the correspondence published in the Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society, vol. II, pages 189-234.

The year 1766 brought another decisive turn in Ettwein's career. He was called to Bethlehem,[34] as assistant to Bishop Nathanael Seidel.[35] But the day before the Ettweins were to have set out, his wife fell and broke her leg. Because no physician then lived within forty miles of Bethabara, the husband himself had to set his wife's leg; subsequently he took pride in recording that the doctor, who came the following day from Salisbury, pronounced it a job worthy of a professional. Ettwein, however, could not await his wife's complete recovery. For he had been summoned to meet Bishop David Nitschmann, Jr.,[36] in Bethlehem. "The pilgrim" made a detour of some four hundred miles to Brunswick on the Cape Fear river. Governor Tryon, who lived there, had asked for an interview with some representative Moravian, and Ettwein thought it worth the journey to disabuse him of certain misapprehensions concerning the settlements in Wachovia.[37] After attending the synod over which Bishop Nitschmann presided, Ettwein travelled south again, to fetch his wife and youngest daughter to their future home. In all, he had covered more than two thousand miles in less than six months.[38]

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[34] His removal from Bethabara at this juncture came to Ettwein "as a special token of grace from the Saviour," due to conditions in that congregation at the time. See E.P. No. 835.

[35] Nathanael Seidel, born in Lauban, Silesia, on Oct. 2, 1718, died in Bethlehem, May 17, 1782. United with the Moravian Church in Herrnhut in 1739; came to Bethlehem in 1742, as an itinerant evangelist. Was consecrated bishop in Herrnhut in 1758. Took the place of Spangenberg as head of the Pennsylvania enterprise upon the latter's return to Germany in 1762.

[36] Bishop David Nitschmann, "the Syndic," a member of the Governing Board in Europe, had been sent on an official visitation of the Church in America at this time. He is not to be confused with Bishop David Nitschmann, "the Carpenter," first bishop of the Renewed Church, who resided in Bethlehem. Both Nitschmanns had come as young men from Zauchtenthal in Moravia to Herrnhut on May 12, 1724. Presumably, they were relatives, the "Syndic" being the younger by five years.

[37] For Ettwein's account of this interview and his itinerary. See A. L. Fries: *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, Vol. I, pages 338-346.

[38] Thereafter, the demands of his official position and his energetic nature combined to keep Ettwein incessantly on the go. As he himself put it: "From this point on, the story of my life becomes a travellogue, purely and simply." E.P. No. 106. For a detailed account of his further movements see Appendix A.

Unfortunately, we have but few details by means of which to reconstruct life in the Ettwein household. It must have been governed by rigid economy, for, throughout his stay in Bethlehem, Ettwein received the modest amount of £70 a year as salary.[39] He himself wrote:

I was very poor when I came to the Church, but never suffered want. I and my dear wife were always satisfied to be able to secure food and clothing. We often thanked God in secret, that our children were brought up in the church institutions. Ours was a carefree life, since we committed the care of our children to our heavenly Father in child-like faith.[40].

Not that Ettwein lacked a father's feelings. He reported to von Watteville in 1773:

The dear Saviour has been very merciful to us hitherto in dealing with our children. My three sons, though not showing any remarkable progress, yet give us cause to hope the best for them, and our youngest daughter, aged eight, is our joy. My Nette is well and happy and always busy with household tasks.[41]

In the event, Ettwein suffered much because of his sons. John, the favorite, who had intended to become a missionary to the Cherokees, did not reach his twentieth birthday. He died of spotted fever while nursing others of his Choir who had contracted the disease. Christian, the oldest son died at the age of forty-six, leaving a widow and four small orphan children. And Jacob, the youngest, to his father's grief proved the "black sheep" of the family. When the elders dismissed him from Bethlehem, Ettwein begged that another trial be made with him in Lititz.[42] There the young man left the Church altogether, marrying in Lancaster one who neither belonged to the Church nor was in sympathy with it. They moved to Philadelphia in 1785, and Jacob then sought readmission in the Church, though his wife consistently held aloof. Jacob died in Philadelphia in 1798, having become infected with yellow fever while nursing those suffering with this disease during the severe epidemic of that year. He, too, left a widow and four young children. His

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[39] See E.P. No. 78.
[40] E.P. No. 110.
[41] E.P. No. 1213.
[42] E.P. No. 1100b

father told of having lost "the son who had strayed" adding: "before his end he requested a Brother to write to me, his father, that he would go to the Saviour as a poor, unworthy sinner! I found comfort in these words!"[43]

The separation from their oldest daughter told on both parents. Again and again, they deprived themselves of a portion of their limited means, the better to provide for her; for she had a hard time fending for herself in Herrnhut, since she was not at all strong.[44]

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[43] E.P. No. 1249a, and the Church diary of Philadelphia for 1798.

[44] Once Ettwein composed a poem for her birthday, while he was making an arduous journey through the wilderness. She prized it, and sent a little gift for her parents in return. See E.P. No. 177 and 1102. The following letter speaks for itself: "Oct. 21, 74.
Dearly beloved Bienel—

Your large, long letter of the 5th of April reached Bethlehem just in time for your dear mother's birthday and gave her much joy. I was far from home, at the time, on a journey in Maryland, and returned to Bethlehem only on the 15th. Your letter afforded me real pleasure too. Your three brothers send many greetings to you. Christel has now come to Bethlehem too. John partook of Holy Communion for the first time five weeks ago. Jacob is still in [Nazareth] Hall. Lenel is growing rapidly. Should some one go from here to synod next spring they will all write to you.

But you wrote in too complimentary a way about your parents; we are poor, poor sinners, as are all our children. Praise God that He permits us to be His own. You write about your bodily weakness; perhaps it was a result of the treatment which you wanted to try. You don't report whether it helped the condition in your head or not; from your silence I conclude that you did not profit by it at all.

Do not hope too much to see us again in this life. We are too far from each other and travel is so very expensive. If I possessed any income of my own, so that I myself could pay for it, I would gladly arrange for you to come to us by some favorable opportunity. But I might easily lose my credit like Brother Lucius [the clergyman who had charge of Ettwein's daughter], for I am like him. I preach gladly; and I have a poor opinion of my sons, since I observe that they do not value well-meant reprimands from me or from others.

Brother Lucius has written me that he gave you 1 Thr. [Thaler] during your illness and paid 3 Rthl [Reichsthaler] 20 gl [Gulden] for medicine on your account. I will write him to give you 2 thl. 8 gl. I would gladly do more if I had it or could use all I possess for this. I hope, too, that you will by no means put your trust in men, but in the dear Saviour and in His grace and help. That we love you dearly, of that have no doubts. And just because of this, the news of your passing on to Jesus' presence would affect us deeply, but would occasion more gratitude than complaint. I rejoice, that you await that day as though it were your wedding day. And I will gladly wait to see you again until we meet in His presence, should it be His will soon to call either you or me. In the meantime, it should remain our chief concern to please Him.

That our dear Saviour may comfort and bless you daily with His

And even as eighteenth century Moravians were ready to sacrifice their parental feelings for the love of the Saviour and the spread of His kingdom, so in marriage they placed His service above all personal considerations. This was the tribute Ettwein paid his wife after her death: "She was altogether made for me. Without a murmur she permitted me to dedicate myself to my vocation. She put up with hardships as far as possible. She journeyed at least five hundred German miles on foot with me in Europe and in this country."[45] As an administrator, Ettwein had observed that all too often fellow ministers allowed the predilections of their wives to influence them in their vocation. As for himself, he heartily agreed with St. Paul, "that the husband is the head of the wife." Thus he wrote:

I cannot yet agree with you that the wife should have as much to say in this [i.e. in the movements of a church official]; with many, indeed, this is so in fact; whether it be right for us or not, I am not sure. At all events, I wouldn't want to have this put into my wife's head.[46]

His ideal of a wife—which his own so happily measured up to—comes to light indirectly in what he wrote to his friend von Schweinitz concerning the latter's daughter:

Your dear daughter excels as a wife even more than she did as a member of the Single Sisters' Choir. She is getting to be a good housekeeper, economical without being avaricious; she is mistress in her home without laying excessive burdens on her maid.[47]

The succeeding years brought many varied duties for Ettwein and constantly growing responsibilities. As assistant to Bishop Seidel, he joined the small group of men charged with leadership in America during the interim period that followed Spangenberg's return to Germany in 1762.[48] In 1770, the Provincial Helpers' Conference for the Whole was constituted in Bethlehem, with Bishop Seidel as president. Ettwein sat continuously on this board until General Synod accepted his resignation in

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dear presence, is our most heart-felt prayer. Remain steadfastly His. We kiss you most tenderly and remain your faithful parents, J. E." E.P. No. 818.

[45] E.P. No. 106.

[46] E.P. 1088.

[47] E.P. No. 1136.

[48] They were, in addition to Seidel: P. Böhler, Matthew Hehl, and Frederick William von Marschall.

1801; from 1783 on, he served as its president. In 1771, he became one of the men responsible for the management of the property of the Unity in this country, and, in 1773, a local representative for the Governing Board in matters relating to the missionary undertaking. Moreover, he served on other subsidiary and congregational boards at various times, so that, from this period on, his influence can be seen in every phase of Moravian Church policy in America.

Ettwein was not altogether happy in some of his associations with members of the Bethlehem boards. The very force of his character brought about clashes with others who were also distinguished for their pronounced opinions. On such occasions Ettwein could be exceedingly outspoken. Thus his official memoir records of him:

> The habit he had of passing quick judgments upon persons and things seemed to contrast with his loving, tender, friendly, and sympathetic nature. It gave to his short, blunt statements the semblance of harshness and sternness, which often caused others pain. But the better one learned to know him, the less this interrupted one's loving confidence in him; for he was very quick to recognize his errors and to let love prevail.

He did not cherish bitterness for any length of time and was ever ready to enter upon fraternal relations with his erstwhile adversary. Of this, his letters furnish abundant proof.

> Forget suspicion and ill-will, [he wrote to a colleague], and don't be so touchy; then your office will not seem so burdensome to you! You have done me an injustice and offended me. Yet, by the grace of God, this shall have no other effect upon me than to cause me, whenever it shall seem my duty to say something to you officially in future, to do so with fear and trembling; I shall not let my mouth be stopped. I remain, whether you believe it or not, your faithful and sympathetic Brother, J. E.[49]

Few things so gladdened Ettwein's heart as to be reconciled with one who had misunderstood him:

> I have received the little letter which you wrote with a trembling hand. It was peculiarly welcome to me; it seemed to wipe out at one stroke all that went before and drew my whole heart to you,[50]

—thus begins a right priestly letter from his pen. Similarly, it

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[49] E.P. No. 1085.

[50] E.P. No. 956.

comforted Ettwein to hear that one who had involved him in a rather ugly lawsuit concerning church property in Bethlehem, had died a penitent in Lancaster, confessing that Ettwein, as a faithful servant of the Church, could not have acted otherwise than he had.

His own zeal led Ettwein to set high standards for all who were associated with him in serving the Church. Among such he hated any evidence of covetousness most of all. In 1775, Ettwein seriously considered the idea of proposing to General Synod that employees of the Church receive no fixed salaries, but only graduated allowances to supplement their private incomes wherever necessary.[51] One of the matters which he did suggest for discussion in Provincial Synod (1790 ?) was this: "that church workers are increasing their personal property."[52] As a result of the Revolutionary War, he wrote, "we have suffered considerably as to our property; yet that is quite healthy, for it counteracts the corrupted spirit which seeks to acquire surplus possessions."[53] And concerning a member of the New York Church board, who had risen to prominence as an alderman in one of the city wards, Ettwein noted with manifest approval: "His executors discover that his honesty rather than his wealth was the cause of his popularity."[54]

Similarly, Ettwein demanded fearlessness on the part of those who accounted themselves servants of God. "It is the duty of every worker to insist upon the observance of the commandments of God and of all healthful ordinances. We have neither the right nor the power, because of the fear of man, to exempt ourselves or others from the least of them."[55] "Humility and meekness make him well liked," he reported of a certain minister, "but it seems to me he has little salt about him." Of another: "He is a weak little creature . . . my only comfort lies in the fact that the Lord is mighty in weakness."[56] His own dealings with other men were characterized by openness and honesty throughout;

[51] E.P. No. 867.
[52] E.P. No. 1344.
[53] E.P. No. 1169c.
[54] E.P. No. 929.
[55] E.P. No. 960.
[56] E.P. Nos. 1318 and 1140.

if anything, he carried this virtue to the extreme of bluntness. He hated every form of deception, lamenting that his Brethren were not equally outspoken with each other; for they would often refrain from criticising a man to his face while not hesitating to speak behind his back—and this in the name of peace. He feared that under the pretence of following wisdom Moravians were learning to walk crooked paths. Some of his co-workers appreciated his outspokenness.[57] Thus John Heckewelder,[58] himself blessed with a rather fiery disposition, after having criticised in strong terms an action on the part of the board which Ettwein headed, wrote:

Now, dear Brother, I will conclude my lamentations. I have written candidly to you, because I know you well, that you do not take it amiss in me or anyone for saying candidly how things are with one and what one thinks, without fear of giving umbrage or offense.[59]

But more sensitive natures could be hurt by Ettwein's language. Complaints followed, and his superiors believed it necessary to remonstrate with him on one occasion. His answer was characteristic:

I thank you for everything, even for your friendly chastisement and loving reprimand. It is healthy for me to get to lick salt occasionally, too, and not always only honey. I find myself in a singular position: polished or artfully turned expressions and phrases have always been offensive to me when dealing with Brethren, whether by word of mouth or in writing. I cannot reconcile their use with genuine brotherly love; and yet this seems to be necessary, if one wants to think of being loved. As Brother P. W. put it: often pretend to be on more friendly terms than is the case in one's heart. And, in truth, I have become

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[57] Spangenberg wrote to him in 1772: "Whenever your name comes to my mind, and it does so often, I remember with gratitude your straight-forward nature and honest manner of dealing with others. Continue in this same simple-mindedness as long as the Lord shall permit you to remain among us; and pray to the Saviour to make you gentler and smoother withal." E.P. No. 602.

[58] John Heckewelder, born at Bedford, England, March 12, 1743, died at Bethlehem, Jan. 31, 1823. Though a much younger man, he came to this country on the ship that brought Ettwein, in 1754. Heckewelder became one of the outstanding Moravian missionaries to the Indians. Being favorably known to men influential in the American government, he was used by them on various occasions in negotiating with the Indians. He was the author of several works: *An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations* and *A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians*, etc.

[59] E. P. No. 268.

so alarmed about this, that I often reconsider ten times over, a reprimand which seems to me necessary, and then finally abstain from it, just in order not to hurt an egg that has no shell. Because I am a servant and a steward of God, I am exceedingly anxious to deal wisely and be found faithful in the sight of God and man.[60]—I am not fearsome [Ettwein wrote to Bishop Gregor on another occasion], and every one has free access to me and finds a faithful hearing. But I don't like to let myself be made a pussy cat. If I were purposely to create opportunities for complaints [i.e. among the workers] and then should speak or be silent, I might well effect more harm than good with one or the other.[61]

But Ettwein's own feelings could be hurt, too. In 1784, when no one was chosen to fill the office of president of the American provincial board, he considered this to be a personal slight. A letter dating from that period tells of his recognition that the Holy Spirit was exercising him in special discipline in this connection, so that he might learn to be more meek and lowly in heart.[62] Among the effects found upon his death was a paper containing the following moving statement:

I wait for my dear Lord, a poor sinner who has found grace in His sight. And should my hour come when no one is looking for it, as I anticipate it will, my Brethren and friends need not be disturbed by this. I forgive all who have offended me and I implore forgiveness for them. All else I have committed to God, Who is able to judge aright. Should I have misjudged a Brother and accused him of anything of which he is not guilty in God's sight, I have often begged the Saviour to forgive me for my error. For He well knows that I love gladly and hate only injustice and every false way! April 8, 1796.[63]

Ettwein's contribution to the intellectual life of his period seems to have been limited. This may be ascribed both to his want of advanced education and to his preoccupation with practical problems with which he had to deal as an administrator.[64]

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[60] E.P. No. 915.

[61] E.P. No. 916.

[62] See E.P. No. 1105.

[63] E.P. No. 471.

[64] Ettwein has left us a record of the items in the *Leipziger Intelligenz Blatt* which had particularly appealed to him in the years 1768 to 1787. It makes a suggestive list.

A table concerning flour and baking—Experiments in baking—Concerning rye flour and bread: 6 lbs of flour make 9 lbs of dough, amply 8 lbs of bread; 5 lbs flour, 7 lbs bread—Concerning brewing—Concerning saltpeter works—How to put out a burning chimney quickly—Rules for mills—Day wages in Saxony—Methods of exterm-

We have various indications that he read widely. Among his papers, for example, are four pages of notes, the result of his having spent "idle hours in Philadelphia reading Winterbotham's *Account of America in 1795.*"[65] He seems to have had a high regard for the value of historical records, in particular.

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inating rats; by means of sponges; white beans—How to make red ink—Concerning agriculture—The advisability of exchanging seed between various districts—Concerning lucern or esparset seed for feed crops—Concerning raising calves—The value of nettle seed in dry feed for horses—Lime improves with age in pits—How to keep beer from becoming sour—A wash against snails and flea beetles—Concerning the cultivation of clover—How to make corned meat; concerning flour and bread—Concerning marl and manure—Supr. Ross: On the right way of preaching; useful—How to dry edible plants and roots—Good rules for fire protection in Magdeburg—Query: What is true religion? Answered—Lueders': Tables concerning planting, how and when to sow—To test linen—Frozen extremities; frost bites, which are not as yet open, should be painted with hydrochloric acid—Concerning deep plowing and its uses—Concerning the Church of Christ—School regulations—Concerning plaster of Paris—Concerning colors and how to mix them—Concerning manuring with chalk—Concerning bleaching linen—How to distinguish chalk, plaster of Paris, and marl—How to whitewash walls; clay, oats, straw, barley straw, flax thatch—How to cure dysentery—The edifying end of Mr. von Haller in Switzerland—Concerning lightning conductors—Query: What really is Christianity? according to the teaching of Jesus and His apostles—Manuring for summer crops to be carried out in the preceding autumn—Concerning uprightness—Why beer becomes cloudy—The death of Jesus for the redemption and reconciliation of mankind—Lanterns and lamps; in Paris, London—Query: Are our times specially enlightened? Men deny the word of God through their teaching; men deny the word of God through their life! Darkness—How to heal frost bites—The distinction between church music and theatre music—How to bake good rye bread . . (?) allow for rising a third of its size, in pure air—Concerning the instruction of children in matters of religion—The herb forest master; matrisilva, Lin. asperula odorata; is good for the bite of a mad dog—Sun flowers, good oil, the stalks good for fuel—Sulphur is a good cement, to secure iron in stone—Rules for schools—The use of well selected and well cared for cows; A newly milked white cow gave 8 cans of milk each day in Feb. The best conditioned among the other cows 22½ cans of milk; 1 lb 12½ ounces of butter—Concerning practical inquiry into the truths of religion—Concerning the cultivation of clover—Query: What is the present condition of the Kingdom of God? Well answered—Concerning materials which create spontaneous combustion;hemp that has been soaked in oil, carded wool, animal hair to which fat has been added; lamp black with oil varnish, St. John's wort boiled in oil—Concerning false enlightenment—How to get rid of weevils—Silberschlag: On the presentation of morals in the pulpit—How to color silk—Wages in Berlin; monthly, daily—Instructions for school masters. E.P. No. 1501.

[65] E.P. No. 1653. William Winterbotham: *Historical, Geographical, Commercial and Philosophical View of the American United States and of the European Settlements in America and the West Indies, London, 1795.*

Various facts support this conclusion. First, we have the evidence of Ettwein's own manuscripts: he carefully preserved records that most men thoughtlessly destroy. Then again, it was for the sake of posterity, as he expressly affirmed, that Ettwein protested against the action of the Governing Board when it sent copies of sermons and addresses to America without indicating the names of their authors.[66] Further, in a note inserted in the Bethlehem Diary for the year 1747, Ettwein stated that he had been empowered by General Synod in 1789 to examine the entries made in this diary during 1747, '48, and '49, for the purpose of selecting whatever seemed most useful and destroying the rest. Especially was he to eliminate all objectionable phraseology and similar evidences of the "Period of Sifting." Upon attempting to carry out this commission, Ettwein discovered that any thorough revision of this diary would demand far more time and effort than he could devote to it. Nor would his sense of the importance of historical records permit him to destroy this chronicle of past events, even though he had to admit that he was unable to foresee any particular use to which it could be put in the future.[67]

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[66] See E.P. No. 881.

[67] E.P. No. 1305. The note left by Ettwein, in this connection, seems noteworthy enough to be reproduced in full. It reads as follows: "In Nov. 1790, I read through most of the diaries for this purpose. However, I found it would be too considerable a task for me to make an abstract from them at this time. And to destroy the whole seemed a pity to me, although I do not know in what way they may serve posterity, except to provide evidence of the church life and activity of the Brethren.

The most active workers and preachers were: Spangenberg, Cammerhof, Christian Henry Rauch, G. Neiser, Nath. Seidel, Leonard Schnell, Martin Mack, Dav. Zeisberger, Abr. Reincke, Henry Antes, Burnside, Pyrlaeus, Post, Bruce, Adolph Meyer, Gottschalk, Sven Roseen, David Bishoff, Sensemann.

The Brethren Cammerhof, George Neuser [George Neisser], and Nathanael Seidel were the diarists. Nathanael's handwriting is very poor and ought to be copied; but that would scarcely be worth the trouble. These were the years of greatest activity on the part of the Brethren in Pensilvania. The institutions for children in Friedrichstown (Henry Antes' place), Oley, and Germantown; the migration of the Christian Indians from Pachgatgoch and Checameka and the revival among the Delawares in this region; the work in Shomokin; the beginning of Gnadenhütten, Gnadenthal, and Christiansbrunn; the erection of mills in Friedensthal and Christiansbrunn, and the commencement and organization of city and country congregations—necessitated very much journeying to and fro, all of which are noted in the

And finally, in addition to his account of the American Revolution and its effect upon the Moravian Church in this country, which appears in the second part of this volume, Ettwein left behind him numerous short sketches of varied pages of the Church's history.[68]

While resident in Bethlehem, Ettwein did a great deal of preaching. The sudden death of the pastor in Bethlehem, just after Easter in 1776, increased the demand for this considerably. The board, facing a shortage of ministers and realizing that hope of reinforcements must remain uncertain during the duration of the war, decided to share the preaching and pastoral duties. Unfortunately, complete sermons by Ettwein are no longer extant. To judge by the various notes still in our possession, it would seem that in preaching he faithfully adhered to Zinzendorf's views. Zinzendorf had held formal sermons to be entirely out of place in the Moravian Church and had sought to substitute for them the type of address which he called homily.[69] Almost

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diaries and described in detail.

It can be seen on every page that during that period "The little Lamb" was the favorite name used by the Brethren in this section for our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. This resulted from the emphasis they placed upon his redemptive blood and death.—John Ettwein.

Pro memoria. Whosoever shall read these diaries in future is requested to overlook the exaggerated manner of speech they contain concerning "the little hole in the side" [the wound in Christ's side], "little brown hearts" [Indians], "little black hearts" [negroes], concerning marriage, etc. Whoever could find time and inclination to copy the diaries, omitting such words and phrases, would do posterity good service thereby. Nov. 1790. John Ettwein."

[68] Some of these, notably an account of the massacre of Moravian missionaries in Gnadenhütten on the Mahony, Ettwein wrote in the form of verse—see the Bethlehem Diary for 1756, pages 77-85.

[69] Zinzendorf considered it presumptuous for any man to use the pulpit for the instruction of fellow believers—and none others presumably belonged to their communion. He conceived the function of the Moravian preacher to be limited to recounting his own religious experience or his own particular understanding of scriptural truth, for the edification of those present. For further detail, see Uttendörfer's: *Zinzendorf's Gedanken über den Gottesdienst*, page 17-25. A short page in Ettwein's hand contains the following notes on preaching:

"*briefly*—because the congregation is not accustomed to pay continuous attention for long.

clearly—because the preacher is to impart information to listeners in such a way that every child shall understand.

thoroughly—in accordance with scripture, so that the listener may know why each verse is quoted and what it is to prove.

animatedly—it should flow forth from a warm heart, be forceful,

invariably, Ettwein made it his practice to take the watchword or doctrinal text of the day as text for his discourse. And he tried to be faithful to the Bible, as he understood it.

It is surely our duty to stick as long as possible to the first and original meaning of the words and not to admit a strange or particular exposition of phrases except where they are against sound reason and the analogy of faith. It is a grievous observation that the most Unbelief and the greatest enmity against Christ in this hour of temptation is found in the Clerical Order who have studied Theology, but do not love Christ, the Sum and substance of the H. Scriptures, and do not like the Doctrine of Christ and His Apostles because it will not square with their carnal mind and vain Philosophy . . . Without regeneration there is no inclination to faith, no love of Gospel Truth, no delight in the written Word of God.[70]

As to the burden of his message, Ettwein himself repeatedly states it to have been: "That in the sacrifice of Jesus alone are grace and freedom from sins to be found for all mankind." Like Zinzendorf, he loved to dwell upon the incarnation of the "Creator-Child" and upon the merits of the wounds and death of Christ. But Ettwein's concept of faith was strongly colored by an ethical emphasis which the *Ancient Unitas Fratrum* had bequeathed to Herrnhut. While in Bethabara, he found occasion to correct a clergyman belonging to another denomination who had, so Ettwein thought, misrepresented the Moravian position on faith. The letter reads:

That a Man might live in Wickedness and be saved by Faith! yes! so was the Thief upon the Cross, and since that Time many a malefactor saved. But accursed are those, who want to be saved by Faith and will continue in their evil ways and Wickedness. We hold no such Truth, God forbid! Where we see a man going on in wicked ways, a Thief, a Whoremonger, a Drunkard, a Scoffer, etc., we are convinced he has no faith, tho he may have all knowledge. We say faith is a living thing which changes us, makes us new men, that is not the faith of the Devils who believe or know too and tremble.[71]

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so that the listener may feel the preacher is in earnest.

with unction—since it is carried out under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

Brevity, clarity, thoroughness are in the preacher's own power; he can apply himself to attaining them. The others are gifts of grace; one must seek them in prayer." E.P. No. 903a. These notes seem to be a summary by Ettwein of Zinzendorf's views on preaching.

[70] E.P. No. 1160.

[71] E.P. No. 1198.

To a traveling companion who claimed to be a child of God, because he had experienced agonizing conversion [Busskampf], but who still lamented frequent surrender to sin, Ettwein said: "A child of God could not serve sin nor let it have dominion over his mortal body."[72]

A similar viewpoint comes to light in Ettwein's remarks concerning the results of the Great Awakening in Maryland.

We had heard of a great awakening among whites and blacks. The Methodists are very active and their services are well attended at some places; but that seems to be the main thing. One encounters agonizing, legalistic conversions which last but a short time [*kurz währende gesezliche Busskämpfe*], and occasional examples, also, of conversion in respect to morals; but poor sinners and souls that hunger after grace are very rare, at least I have not been privileged to find many such.[73]—The Methodists and Baptists are very busy there; and people seem to be more impressed by much activity, than anxious to be served with our gospel.[74]

Ettwein also recorded in his journal the summary of a conversation which he had had with a Methodist who feared that his own prayer too often was directed to the Son rather than to the Father.

I embraced this opportunity, [wrote Ettwein,] to voice my views regarding this: That J. Christ and the Father are never separate; that men can glorify the Father only in the Son; and that the fear of depriving the Father of glory by addressing oneself to the Son is ascribable to erroneous doctrine.[75]

Finally, a letter written by Ettwein to L. Böhler[76] shows the same attitude:

My dear Bro. Böhler, I have seen from yours of—September, that my explanation concerning H. did not satisfy you, since you sent me a very theological reply to it. The example of our Saviour in His dealing with a person taken in adultery hardly seems to me to fit H.'s case. I neither judge nor condemn him; the word of our dear Lord and of His apostles does so. Contrary to their judgment, I should not like

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[72] E.P. No. 106.

[73] E.P. No. 818b.

[74] E.P. No. 854.

[75] See the Bethlehem Diary, appendix 1, Oct. 17, 1774.

[76] Lewis Frederick Böhler, born at London, April 9, 1751, died at Bethlehem, June 30, 1815. Served as teacher in various Moravian centers in Germany and Holland prior to coming to America in 1784.—A son of Bishop Peter Böhler.

to take an adulterer under my wing, were he even my own son or brother. Whoso permits himself to be called a Brother and is—, with such an one you should have no fellowship. This does not refer to worldly folk, else we could not live in the world. But it applies clearly to such who have forgotten the cleansing of their sins, and have thereafter wallowed again with the swine in the mire, out of which they had escaped.

The apostles have directed us only in the matter of excluding such and have given us no rules concerning their readmittance. Yet there is forgiveness for all sins.[77]

Yet Ettwein would not subscribe to the doctrine of sinless perfection. To strive after perfection in Christ, while recognizing the sinfulness of human nature, was the aim he set himself and others.

I do not expect any [perfection] on this side of the grave . . . I hold them [the tendencies to and evidences of human depravity encountered even after true regeneration] to be tokens of the evil dwelling within us. I said that Satan and the world are often blamed for things that result from the individual's own spirit or his flesh and blood; that true humility and a sense of one's sinfulness were the best protection against every enemy, for then one would never rely upon self and one's own power, and take refuge in the shelter of Jesus' wounded side.[75]

Since Ettwein felt at home in English, his services were particularly in demand whenever prominent strangers visited the Moravian settlement, and that was a frequent occurrence in this period. During the troubled years of the Revolutionary War in particular, he felt it his obligation, wherever possible, to proclaim the gospel message to the troops that passed and repassed through Bethlehem. On such occasions he was burdened with the thought that this might "perhaps be the last time for many." While the Continental Hospital occupied quarters in Bethlehem, he offered to minister twice weekly to the sick and wounded as honorary chaplain; and he rejoiced to note that such work did not prove vain, for "some of them died like Moravians!"[78] It was he, quite naturally, who spoke for the Church when dealing with army officers and civil officials. Occasionally, these encounters were stormy enough.[79] Yet, on the whole, men of all

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[77] E.P. No. 801.

[78] Bethlehem Diary, memorabilia for 1777.

[79] A single small sheet preserves the graphic record of one such incident. It contains a series of memoranda that passed back and forth in Bethlehem long ago; they speak for themselves:

degrees seem to have been impressed by Ettwein's integrity; he became favorably known in wide circles. This fact proved of unforeseen value to the Church in succeeding years, when Ettwein negotiated with the government for grants on behalf of Moravian missionary work.

Within his own communion, too, Ettwein's distinguished offices did not fail of recognition. The Church honored this loyal servant by consecrating him a bishop on June 25, 1784. The ceremony took place in Bethlehem, with bishops John von Watteville and Matthew Hehl[80] officiating. Exactly one year later, Bishop John Ettwein for the first time exercised the highest privilege of his new office, by sharing in the consecration of Bishop Gustavus Schaukirch,[81] whom the American board had reluctantly released to become superintendent of the Moravian mission in the Danish West Indies.

"Sir The bearer, Mr. Carr, is in possession of a Part of a House near the Fulling Mill, the owner of which wants to put him out. He has applied to me for leave to stay until he is sufficiently well to shift for himself, as he is to all Intents and purposes an invalid. I have told him it was not in my power to do anything in his favor. He then desired me to write to you for advice and assistance, for, if he is turned out he has no chance for having his cure completed. I am with respect

Bethlehem, Jan. 6, 1778. Your very humble serv't

Col. Cropper Samuel Finlay.

In complyance with the request afsd. these do certify that Mr. Carr is not to be mov'd untill my orders.

Given under my hand at Bethlehem 6th Janu. 1777

John Cropper, Lieut Colo.

Answ. Col Cropper has nothing to command in Bethm. but the Soldiers, therefore we cannot receive his ordre, Mr. Carr does not belong to the Hospital, we want the Place where he is and he must remove without Delay. N. B. Was directly fetch'd away by Mr. Finlay into the Hospital. J.E." E.P. No. 1274.

Ettwein brought the recalcitrant Colonel to terms by threatening to report the matter to the Commander in Chief. (See E.P. No. 96).

[80] Bishop Matthew Godfrey Hehl, born April 30, 1705 at Ebersdorf, Germany, died at Lititz, Pa., Dec. 4, 1787. Received the degree of M.A. from Tübingen in 1723. Came to America in 1751. In 1756 he became the head of the district of which Lititz was the central congregation and remained, until his death, an influential leader of the Moravian Church in America.

[81] Ewald Gustavus Schaukirch, born at Stettin, Germany, Feb. 28, 1725, died March 19, 1805, at Herrnhut. Trained in the Moravian Theological Seminary and served in Germany and England prior to coming to America in 1774, where he served the New York church until his entering mission service.

Despite his prominent position in Bethlehem, Ettwein remained modest to the end. Near the close of his life, he requested a member of the Church: "If you ever honour me again with a Letter, don't make use of such high worldly Titles. I am Brother Ettwein."[82] And the words ring true. He found his chief delight in being useful to others. "I like to serve everyone", he wrote to explain a search he was making for a missing man on behalf of a clergyman in Freudenstadt.[83] Indeed, on at least one occasion, the aged bishop's kindness of heart and his willingness to serve, betrayed him into the embarrassment of acting as go-between in the delivery of a love letter![84]

Then, in 1788, the Governing Board summoned Bishop Ettwein to attend the General Synod which it had convened to meet in Herrnhut the following spring. Concerning this visit, Ettwein recorded in his autobiography:

Synod and my visits in nearly all the German congregations remain an unforgettable experience. It was the happiest and most outstanding year of my life. I had no cares; I was overwhelmed with love and unmerited kindnesses.[85]

When the time came for his return, Ettwein's daughter Anna Benigna—"Bienel," as he affectionately called her—begged to accompany her father. To their mutual delight, the church authorities consented. But sorrow trod hard on the heels of joy for them; upon landing in New York they learned that Johannetta Ettwein no longer lived to welcome them home.

It was not Ettwein's nature to give way to despondency or to wear his sorrow on his sleeve.[86] He worked faithfully on, the

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[82] E.P. No. 1199.

[83] E.P. No. 1140. Thus, the report of a disastrous fire in the "Rope Walks" of Boston caused him to write—and presumably publish—an article on spontaneous combustion. In it he summarized information garnered by him out of the *Leipziger Intelligenz Blatt* on the subject, for, "a caution or public warning to owners of Rope Walks or magazines of Hemp and of Sails Cloth, and Captains of Ships, etc., might prevent a great deal of mischief and losses by fire." E.P. No. 1502.

[84] E.P. No. 1186.

[85] E.P. No. 105.

[86] "That the dear Saviour took my dear, faithful wife to Himself in my absence pained me, indeed, but I had expected this. For I had often thought my own end would come somewhere on my travels. Since it has pleased my dear Lord to part us so, I have learned to be grateful to Him for this, too; His comfort and peace have filled my heart, so that I can truthfully say I am a cheerful, happy widower." E.P. No. 871.

tempered steel in his character still showering off sparks occasionally. But he no longer enjoyed the strength that had been his; his health failed rapidly. Illness followed illness. His condition can best be described in the graphic words he used in writing to his friend von Marschall:

I heartily rejoiced over what I heard concerning your well-being. Rest your eyes as much as possible and try to let them gain strength, so that they may still serve for a season. Mine are weak, too, and my hearing is failing me. A bellows is out of order also; I can feel that whenever I walk, or speak, or read, or sing. When the tools shall have been worn out completely, then the time of rest will come! For more than fifty years, now, we have been running side by side. Which of us is to be first in reaching the goal, Jesus' presence, will appear soon, perhaps. The grace, love, and patience of our Lord and of my Brethren and Sisters make my circumstances quite endurable in other respects.[87]

Yet Ettwein would not give up altogether. Rheumatism shooting through his right arm, old fractures in collar bone and ribs aching badly, his voice so affected that it pained him to speak aloud, yet we find him setting out in the spring of 1798 to visit New York and Staten Island; he even had planned to continue his journey into New England, but circumstances prevented this. His poor hearing troubled him especially. He grew to dislike attending meetings of the boards, because so much of what was said escaped him there; yet he made it a practice to appear at least once a month. It also became increasingly difficult for him to speak in public.[88]

Toward the turn of the century, he repeatedly sought for permission to be freed from duties which he felt he could no longer competently perform. But the Church valued his services too

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[87] E.P. No. 1018.

[88] Thus while Ettwein was negotiating with the New Jersey Assembly in Trenton, in 1791, with a view to securing legal incorporation of the *Society for Propagating the Gospel* in that State, a Presbyterian minister invited him to occupy the pulpit of the leading church in that city. Ettwein felt obliged to decline, because his voice was too weak to fill so large an auditorium. When, however, the same minister left his seat during the morning service, sought Ettwein out in the audience, and publicly urged him to reconsider, Ettwein had to yield. He relied on divine help, he says, and was not put to shame. "The whole incident was and remains a marvel to me. A Moravian bishop who never studied theology, to have the honor to preach in a great Presbyterian church before such a multitude of people!" E.P. No. 106.

highly to surrender them willingly. Not until the summer of 1801, did General Synod reluctantly grant his request. Only half a year more, and he entered into the rest he had long desired. The end came on January 2, 1802, after a short attack of pneumonia. Three days later, a great concourse of people gathered to show him a last honor. They laid "the pilgrim's" body to rest on the hill-top behind the church, next to that of Nathanael Seidel, at whose side he long had manfully faced his appointed tasks.

Thus, out of this mass of correspondence, filled so largely with detail of administration and travel, a strangely attractive figure takes shape. Whatever his faults, Ettwein was a man honest, realistic, and courageous, one who devoted himself whole-heartedly to the service of His Lord and of the Church. The special difficulties which he faced have, to a great extent, vanished; issues that loomed so large before his eyes are almost forgotten now. But his life and his faith have permanently enriched the American Moravian Church. It is no mean heritage in the stress and uncertainties of our own day, to be able to cherish a spiritual ancestry which includes a man like Bishop John Ettwein.

BETHLEHEM, PENNSYLVANIA, IN 1793

From a water color painting by George Fetter in possession of the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.

Chapter 2

ADMINISTRATION OF BETHLEHEM

For more than thirty years, Ettwein served as the official correspondent of the Moravian Church in America. He must have been an indefatigable one. Literally hundreds of his letters are treasured in the Moravian archives in Bethlehem, mostly in the form of first drafts. Quite frequently they contain passages which Ettwein thought it wise to strike out or to modify in the letters as finally dispatched, thus affording us added insight into the working of his mind. The letters are rich in content, covering a wide range of subjects; it was his habit to insert in them items of general interest which had come to him from other correspondents. Indeed the Governing Board in Germany would occasionally learn of events which had transpired in the West Indies by these means, long before the news reached them directly from the field. Ettwein cultivated this habit purposely. When letters that came to him from Europe were limited to strictly official matters, without personal comment or items of general news, Ettwein felt hurt and complained promptly. For, this keeping in touch with other parts of the Unity had become a vital concern for him. Not only were all the wide flung activities of this little communion governed from Germany, but Moravians in the American centers considered themselves as men on outpost duty and longed for spiritual fellowship with their Brethren in other lands. The Bethlehem Diary of those years frequently tells of single services in which reports would be communicated to the little community concerning Moravian activities in such widely separated places as Russia, Egypt, the West Indies and South America. American Moravians were distressed when wars interrupted communications for long periods. Then the rare packages of mail which did arrive were hailed as: "Provision for these hard times; God is faithful!"[1]

Ettwein's gifts as a writer attracted Spangenberg's attention to him as early as 1755. That September Ettwein had gone to

[1] Bethlehem Diary Sept. 12, 1777.

New York in Spangenberg's company and had remained there temporarily as the assistant of Brother Rogers.[2] Ettwein not only showed initiative and a willingness to shoulder responsibility in forwarding official mail to Europe, but gave such a vivid picture of what he saw in connection with the Moravian work in New York that Spangenberg commented:

Your manner of writing pleases me very much. Continue as you have begun and never grow apprehensive in doing so.[3]

Ettwein hardly needed this exhortation; he never had to be charged with undue timidity. Spangenberg lived to read a letter in which Ettwein addressed the Governing Board in the following terms:

Has simple-mindedness returned among you to such a degree, that you venture to propose such a Brother as David Zeisberger[4] and Dencke[5] for the position of a poor country worker, where one can often scrape along with the greatest difficulty, not having any regular salary but an abundance of work? Our country workers certainly stand higher in my esteem and, I believe, in the sight of God, on that account, than pastors and preachers in our settlements.[6]

Indeed, the pungency of Ettwein's style alone makes his letters interesting reading. Thus, in 1783, he wrote concerning a fellow minister:

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[2] Jacob Rogers, born in Bedford (?), England, Jan. 25, 1715. An Anglican clergyman of the evangelical school, he contributed much to the establishment of the Moravian Church in Bedford and its vicinity. Later he united with them, coming to America in 1752 (?). Here he served various English-speaking congregations. For a short time (Oct. 1758-Dec. 1759) he acted as the first vicar of "Dobbs Parish", the legally constituted church organization in Wachovia. He returned to England in 1762 in Spangenberg's company.

In his memoir, Ettwein states he had accompanied Peter Böhler to New York that fall, but entries in the Bethlehem Diary, September 17 and 23, indicate this to have been a slip of memory on his part.

[3] E.P. No. 597.

[4] This is not a reference to the famous missionary, but to a cousin of his by the same name, who was in charge of the Nazareth congregation at this time. The latter is often called David Zeisberger, Jr. in the church records, and will so be referred to in this book.—David Zeisberger, Jr. was born at Herrnhut, May 25, 1730 and died at Nazareth, May 17, 1798. After being educated in Herrnhut he served there and in Niesky as chaplain of the Boys' Choir. He came to America in 1761 and thereafter filled various posts in Nazareth and vicinity. From 1779 to his death he also acted as a member of the provincial board.

[5] For biographical note, see page 279.

[6] E.P. No. 916.

I have been staying here [*i. e.* in Philadelphia] with my wife since the ninth, because the Sydrichs[7] asked that they might refresh themselves for a time in the settlement [*i. e.* Bethlehem]. We have relieved them for a fortnight, so that he may recuperate somewhat from his negligible labor and she may recover a little from her infirmity by means of the journey.[8]—Whoever would live in and serve Wajomik, [he noted in 1791,] ought to have been hardened a little first; perhaps Brother Tillofsen[9] would be prepared for such a call, if he were obliged to travel for any length of time in company with four hundred Irishmen.[10]

The same spring Ettwein spoke of American political developments in the following terms:

It certainly is true that Congress has been passing good laws and taking steps to restore credit; Bethlehem has also profited considerably by the rise in value of certificates or tax receipts. But not all is gold that glitters: limitless freedom is not always used profitably. Moreover, despite all, the wild horses and asses are being gradually broken to carry loads such as one did not dare even to mention to them in times past.[11]

And a few years later Ettwein reported:

There was a strong party in Congress which wanted to have Washington's likeness and superscription on American coins; on the other side was to be an eagle, however without the words: 'Wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together!' But the opposing party prevailed so that the likeness of liberty is to be engraved in place of the likeness of Washington.[12]

Nor did Ettwein mince words when he felt himself falsely accused; this the following quotation may serve to show:

That he said and continues to assert, that I advised him to journey to Holland, is an infamous, wicked lie.[13]

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[7] Daniel Sydrich, born at Frankfurt on the Main, died at Lititz, May 22, 1790. He came to America in 1750 and served as minister at various places, longest in Philadelphia.

[8] E.P. No. 1102.

[9] Niels Tillofsen, born in Holstein, Feb. 4, 1745 and died at Lititz, April 15, 1806. Served the Church both in Germany and Ireland prior to his coming to America, in 1791.

[10] E.P. No. 916. In the event Tillofsen did spend thirteen weeks among three hundred Irish emigrants and had an uncomfortable time of it.

[11] E.P. No. 817.

[12] E.P. No. 920.

[13] E.P. No. 1083.

His style is singularly free of the sentimental phraseology in which many of his contemporaries still indulged.[14]

Official letters were always submitted to his colleagues and occasionally amended by them in session. But he also expressed himself freely in private communications, though he made it a rule to do this only with the knowledge and consent of his Brethren. Yet when the time drew near for General Synod to be held in 1775 and the lot vetoed his going to Germany as the representative of the American province, Ettwein forwarded to the Governing Board a long list of personal recommendations for changes in Church policy. He did this in conscious disregard of the regulation forbidding Church workers to send in "one-sided" reports, lest friction result among them. Since these were matters of importance and had been on his heart for years, he felt justified in making an exception.

Ettwein must be regarded as the outstanding figure in the Moravian Church in America during those critical years of transition which followed Spangenberg's return to Germany and the discontinuance of the Economy system.[15] This period became the more difficult because of the disturbances caused by the Revolutionary War. The spirit in which he served the Church is plain from the first letter he wrote after his call to Bethlehem from Bethabara, North Carolina, in 1766:

> Ever since my arrival in America I have desired rather to die by God's mercy than spoil anything connected with His cause; and this is my feeling anew.[16]

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[14] Occasional expressions, to be sure, strike the reader of today as strange. Thus Ettwein wrote that: "Little Marie Hammlein ended her dying in the old year by means of consumption. Among the Single Sisters there still are a couple of such candidates. Otherwise our health is very good in Bethlehem and Nazareth, thank God." (E.P. No. 839) On another occasion, after reporting the death of a member, he adds: "Widow Göttlich also awaits this good fortune." (E.P. No. 835.) See also the tone of note No. 86, page 128.

[15] See pages 139 ff.

[16] E.P. No. 835.—The secret of his influence shines out in the first letter he wrote after his consecration as bishop in 1784. "I dedicated myself anew on that occasion to my dear Saviour, to live for Him, to permit myself to be guided in all things by Him and His Holy Spirit and to be stedfast in witnessing concerning His atoning death. And I promised Him anew not to spare myself in the service of His Brethren's Unity and to be subject to my dear Brethren." E.P. No. 875.

The trials of the years to follow gave him ample opportunity for proving that statement. By 1778 he could write:

> There has been no lack of work for me in these last few years, nor do I think I have been here in vain; through the favor of my dear Lord and of my Brethren I have become quite a somebody. The dear Saviour has hitherto helped us through together in such a manner as to compel our gratitude.[17]

That was no egotistical appraisal but sober truth and, if anything an understatement, and reveals his utter devotion to the Church he loved.

Ettwein's aim was to keep in touch with all the varied interests of the Church and to possess the confidence of every worker in it. And a Moravian provincial helper in the middle of the eighteenth century had to concern himself with a multiplicity of detail no less than with major policies. He watched over the management of all industries, mills, shops, farms, inns. For the reputation of the Church was at stake when the storekeeper overcharged or the innkeeper found his "wine too cheap" for his own good. When any Branch of the Church, as its industries were designated, needed a tailor, a shoemaker, a linen weaver, a beer brewer, a locksmith, or the like, he would seek to arrange for the call of a good man from Europe and to provide for his travel expenses. When the farms failed to produce the expected returns, or the grist mill became inefficient, or the cost of the common kitchens varied considerably as between different Choir Houses, he had to look into this. When one family desired to keep a cow or another family two cows instead of one, the decision lay with him. When employees in any industry petitioned for an increase in wages he would determine the justice of their claim and the amount to be paid. When the widows asked permission to have their grown sons come to the Widow's House to visit them occasionally, he had to approve the request, specifying the hours during which such liberty might safely be granted. The price of hickory wood and oak was set by him for the whole community. Correspondence by members might fall into wrong hands in war time and injure the whole settlement, hence he must arrange for its censorship. Came the time when strangers

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[17] E.P. No. 1169a

requested burial in the church cemetery or education of their children in the church schools, and the decision lay with him. Church publications had to receive his approval. That thought should be given to architectural excellence in the buildings erected by the community, that the art of organ building might not die out among Moravians in America, that the settlements be adequately supplied with physicians or more particularly with surgeons, these also were matters engaging his time and thought. And when the Bethlehem physician became a widower, the provincial helpers would have to consider the advisability of a prompt re-marriage. The introduction of new industries was his concern: thus we find Ettwein actively experimenting with silk culture in Bethlehem and directing the search for potters' clay in Hope. Where schools required teachers, he must provide them. Where unruly boys needed discipline, he was called upon for suggestions. When members desired to marry, his approval would be sought. And where spiritual problems had to be met: where congregations complained about their ministers or the ministers felt they could not cope with certain troubles among their flock, the provincial helper would be summoned to speak individually with every person belonging to the congregation in the hope of straightening the matter out. Not that Ettwein or any single leader had sole responsibility in all these things; they were concerns of various boards to which he belonged.

But he was a man of such boundless energy, that he appears to have made everything in his beloved Zion a matter of his concern. Picture, if you can, the aged bishop buying a penny cake and realizing, to his horror, that it was underweight, that the children were being systematically cheated of a fraction of a cent each time they purchased one. His reaction was characteristic. He forthwith invested in half a dozen of them, verified his suspicion by means of an accurate scale, and wrote the baker a scorching letter. Again, he found occasion to believe that people were being overcharged for milk; painstakingly he examined a mass of figures representing, on the one hand, the cost of cattle and their care and, on the other, the quantity of milk produced by them. The outcome was another letter in which he peremptorily demanded that the price of milk and of milk products be lowered,

and warned against thinning it in order to compensate for the reduction. Again, he observed that men fished indiscriminately in the Manocacy[18] and foresaw that this would eventually exhaust the supply of trout; so he proposed to regulate all fishing in this stream.

Or—an unlucky Bethlehemite, who fancied long hair, caught his eye and his scorn fell upon him in these terms:

Hair is intended to cover our heads, not our shoulders! Are you so ignorant as not to know what Paul wrote to the Brethren in Corinth—See I Cor. 11:14—or do you consider an apostolical admonition to be something wholly negligible, like the reproof of our Choir chaplain? What use a citizen who plans to live and die in our Church should have for long hair, is quite beyond me. It seems more reasonable in those of our boys who are always eying the world; I suppose they are anxious not to lack hair for a tail when they leave the Church or are dismissed from it. Govern yourself and let the hair of your head be cut to a decent, respectable length, so that I may be and remain your loving Brother, John Ettwein.

Nor did the Sisters escape his scrutiny. The Single Sisters' chaplain once received this communication from him:

I felt like running away from the girls' lovefeast, when I saw the extent to which folly is increasing and becoming the rule in this group with regard to our Moravian garb. I beg you to put a stop to this before it gets to be the fashion completely. I can find no other explanation for this than that it is a sign of a depraved way of thinking; for certainly it represents no saving, rather the contrary. I cannot help believing it indicates something very reprehensible on the part of certain individuals. It seems to me that certain young Sisters, who may not be named, are thus, in effect, exhibiting a placard to the other sex and announcing that they are fools.

Nor are Ettwein's personal letters confined to matters which seem trivial to us, perhaps. He would lash out against gross sins which occasionally came to light, even in so carefully disciplined a community. He would write sternly to those who professed sorrow for evil, demanding of them a penitence shown in changed lives. Ettwein fully appreciated the power of the pen, applying to it St. James' observation concerning the tongue: "It is a little thing, but it has kindled many a great conflagration." And he used his talent diligently, for he considered himself duty-

[18] A stream flowing into the Lehigh at Bethlehem.

bound to admonish erring Brethren even when there appeared little prospect of his words having the desired effect. For he did not consider it lost labor to plead with hearts apparently hardened. And he knew how to comfort tenderly those whom he considered truly contrite.

Small wonder that such a man should occasionally have been charged with dealing autocratically in church affairs. In his old age, Ettwein grew indignant when von Schweinitz[19] reproached him for having disregarded the views of his colleagues. He offered to withdraw from the board if the other members on it felt as did von Schweinitz.

> *I* desire to rule the Bethlehem congregation alone! I pay *no regard* to the opinion of the boards! . . . So far as I know myself, I still take the greatest pains to avoid every appearance of any lordship; and I believe I may still ask with all confidence today: "Who can convict me of not having yielded my will to that of the board in any single case?" I have no desire, however, to sit on any board in which I may not speak my mind freely, not as a dictator, but as a counselor.[20]

Yet Ettwein knew how to assert himself when occasion demanded. He answered one protest which he feared might prove harmful to the best interests of the Church in these words: "I can produce written evidence that I have been called and am paid to serve as head of the whole work."[21]

However, as the years passed, this forthright old man no longer felt so sure of himself or of his opinions. In 1791, Ettwein began to urge the building of a new church in Bethlehem. He did not live to see this done, but we have his insistence and his enthusiasm largely to thank for the erection of the present Central Church in 1803-06, which was a truly magnificent structure for its day.

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[19] John Christian Alexander von Schweini(t)z, born at Nieder Leuba, Silesia, Oct. 17, 1740, died at Herrnhut, Feb. 26, 1802. He came to America in 1770, after having served the Church in Germany as teacher and secretary of the Governing Board. He was appointed first official Administrator of the property of the Unity in Bethlehem and neighboring congregations. In 1797 he was elected a member of the Governing Board and ordained as Senior Civilis in 1801. Senior Civilis, a title taken over from the ancient *Unitas Fratrum*, designated individuals occupying in the conduct of temporal affairs positions similar to those of bishops in spiritual matters. This title no longer exists in the Moravian Church.

[20] E.P. No. 975.

[21] E.P. No. 959.

At the time, Ettwein had some difficulty in persuading Bethlehem folk to agree to undertake the task, for most of the residents considered a bridge over the Lehigh to be the first need of the community. Ettwein fought this latter project for all he was worth. He felt that the little Moravian community had no business to venture upon an undertaking which would be the first of its kind in Pennsylvania, which would cost a very large sum, and which might well occasion calamitous floods by obstructing the free flow of the river. He failed to prevent its construction, however, for public opinion set against him too strongly. Yet the very manner in which he suffered defeat on this point reveals the commanding influence Ettwein enjoyed in Bethlehem at this time. He had succeeded in persuading the committee, to which this project had been referred, to table it indefinitely. Then he left town to visit Hope, N. J., and in his absence the opposition hastily circulated an anonymous petition in a Church Council meeting; the proposal was reconsidered and passed.

Concerning a site for the proposed church edifice, another serious difference of opinion developed. Typically, Ettwein insisted on looking ahead. The church should be located, he said, where it would be most central in view of the anticipated growth of the town, not where it would be most convenient for residents of his own generation. Other reasons also influenced him in his choice, in chief the lack of solid foundation rock at the spot which the majority preferred. In the event, a compromise was reached and the building placed on a third site. But Ettwein's report of this clash of opinions is significant:

> I know what close kin stedfastness and stubbornness are. The fear of being considered obstinate almost induced me to surrender the site which the synodal committee had approved, even though I cannot see the force of the arguments brought against it.[22]

John Ettwein's administration in Bethlehem inherited many problems from the period known as the time of the "Economy." For years, the Moravian settlements in Bethlehem and Nazareth had been centers of Christian communistic enterprise. This Moravian "holy experiment" was closely related to the "Choir" organization which Count Zinzendorf had gradually developed

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[22] E.P. No. 880.

in Germany with the view of furthering the spiritual life of the individual member. Congregations were subdivided into separate sections, men, women, and children being gathered into homogeneous groups. Thus the Married People formed one Choir, the Widowers another, and Widows a third; Single Brethren made up another, as did the Single Sisters: Older Boys, Older Girls, and Children also constituted separate Choirs. Each group was put under the care of special church workers. By the study of carefully selected incidents from the life of the Saviour these "Choir laborers," or chaplains, endeavored to lead their charges into closer and fuller communion with Him. Special services were held and appropriate liturgical forms developed for each group, and individual pastoral care was painstakingly exercised within them. In many places the members of such Choirs lived under the same roof, this being true particularly of the Single Brethren and Single Sisters. Under such circumstances, the occupations by which Choir members made a living and paid their quota towards the upkeep of the institution naturally became a concern of the Choir officials also. A comparatively simple step led to the organization of gainful trades which the Brethren's House or Sisters' House promoted in order to provide employment for its occupants.

This was the stage which the Church had reached when it began to engage upon the colonization of America. In Pennsylvania, Moravians faced the hard realities of frontier life. Here housing accommodations were scarce and expensive to provide. They lacked any considerable private means, and just at this time the dangers inherent in Zinzendorf's care-free financial policy began to catch up with the Church. A distressing shortage of money developed, rendering the whole future of the Moravian enterprise in America dubious, at the very moment when opportunities for great usefulness beckoned them on. In the emergency, Spangenberg proved the man of the hour. He organized the settlers in a united struggle for common aims, each individual being assigned that occupation for which he or she seemed best fitted. Together they labored for the welfare of the Church, renouncing all claim to wages, content to receive only bare necessities. Soon substantial buildings arose in this remote wilderness. As a matter of expediency, each Choir was housed in com-

mon quarters, and family ties were sacrificed; parents permitted their children to be taken from them at a tender age, to be placed in church institutions. For approximately twenty years Bethlehem paid its own way and supported an incredibly large program of evangelistic work among settlers and aborigines alike, by these heroic means, though capital outlays represented by the community buildings still rested upon the settlement.[23]

But the industrialization of the Choir establishments, though essential to the success of this remarkable period, contained the seeds of its own decay. Inevitably, Choirs began to think in terms of profits rather than of religious growth. Questions submitted by the Bethlehem Board to General Synod in 1769 indicate the degree to which the spirit of the Choirs had suffered.

We have few cripples or other wise unfit children in our institutions, thank God; yet there are some of them. They grow to the age when they should normally pass out of the institutions into the Choirs. Must the heads of these institutions be permanently responsible for such persons, or whose charge shall they become? . . .The general administration has to support the sons of evangelists and missionaries, etc., in the institutions until they reach the age of twelve or thirteen. And, through lack of opportunity of apprenticing them in some trade, they have to be kept as Older Boys either in the institutions or in Christiansbrunn for several years more. The Single Brethren accept no one who is not useful to them or whom they do not need in one of the trades. What arrangements are there between the management of such institutions and that of the Choir Houses in Europe?[24]

In 1775 Ettwein wrote:

The Sister in charge of the Single Sisters' Choir and her assistant are excellently fitted for their offices but are too independent. Sisters who no longer need to fear them say that contributions are set at too high a figure by them. The Sisters have to bring their own bread to the table which results in the irregularity, that some frequently have not a bite of bread to eat at the table. This is unhealthy and creates disorderly individuals! The Sister in charge frequently has been spoken to about this, but she will not accept advice, and justifies her-

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[23] For detail concerning the period of the Economy in Bethlehem, consult H. Erbe: *Bethlehem, Pa., Eine kommunistische Herrnhuter-Kolonie*; J. T. Hamilton: *A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church*; J. M. Levering: *A History of Bethlehem, Penn'a 1741-1892*; G. Reichel: *August Gottlieb Spangenberg, Bishof der Brüderkirche*; Wm. N. Schwarze: *The Moravian Settlement of Bethlehem*; J. J. Sessler: *Communal Pietism Among Early American Moravians.*

[24] E.P. No. 1336.

self by pointing out that these conditions also exist in other places. Their Choir establishment is well off; there are many Sisters who pay board and rent. It would be only just to let the poor Sisters profit thereby and reduce the amount they pay for rent.[25]

The outcome demonstrated anew that family life cannot be suppressed with impunity nor the profit motive eradicated permanently, even in a religious community. Zinzendorf died in 1760, and Spangenberg was recalled to Europe in 1762 to help fill his place. Even before this, strong pressure to end the Economy began to be exerted by certain influential individuals in Germany who held the Church's primary task to be the liquidation of the debt resting on the Unity. They considered Bethlehem's communistic system so closely interlocked with the American missions of the Church that only inconsiderable contributions toward the general deficit could be hoped for from America, as long as the Economy continued in force.

In 1762, the Economy officially came to an end. Not so the problems involved in so profound a reorganization of community life. It fell to Ettwein's lot to head the Church in Bethlehem during the critical decades that followed. Delicate questions of property rights had to be faced, in which land, buildings, equipment, and thriving businesses were equally involved. Many different claims had to be considered: those of the Unity, of the Moravian Church in America, of the Bethlehem congregation, of the various Choir establishments, and of individual members. Gradually, community undertakings had to be transformed into private enterprises. To accomplish this equitably, guarding the while against tendencies which might harm the cause dear to the hearts of all, was no mean task. Yet this was but one of the burdens manfully shouldered by Ettwein and his colleagues during the second half of the eighteenth century.[26]

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[25] E.P. No. 867.

[26] Ettwein was not charged with primary responsibility for the management of the property of the Unity in America. From 1770 to 1797 Hans Christian Alexander von Schweinitz acted as administrator. But all through this period Ettwein served with him on a committee of three to whom the Governing Board committed the oversight of its holdings in this section of America. Ettwein, indeed, requested to be relieved of this responsibility in 1786, but without success. And though the two men could not avoid occasional disputes, they learned to esteem each other highly. When von Schweinitz was finally recalled to fill a vacancy on the Governing Board in Europe, Ettwein

Ettwein possessed a head for figures and took a keen interest in the finances of the Church—he had to; funds were very inadequate during the major portion of his time in office. On occasion, he could visit a neighboring congregation and help the local treasurer make out his accounts properly. Under less happy conditions, he could detect irregularities in the statements submitted by officers of congregations or Choirs. In 1773, he proposed that the various church boards cease selling notes in Philadelphia at fluctuating rates and agree to stabilize exchange between Herrnhut and Bethlehem at twenty-seven shillings Pennsylvania currency for five Reichsthaler; he pled for greater fraternal trust, assuring his Brethren in Europe that the American leaders would continue to be conscientious in using Church monies. Another, far more important step taken by the Church in this period, also reveals Ettwein's genius in facing realistically and wisely the needs of his day. It was his idea and his enthusiasm which brought into being *The Widows' Society of Bethlehem, Pa.* in the year 1770. And, quite naturally, he himself served on its first board of trustees. This is one of the oldest assurance associations in America.[27]

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gave expression to his feelings in a letter to Bishop Gregor: "I do not begrudge Brother Schweiniz' election and call to the U.E.C., yet I must say it was painful news for me. For twenty-five years I have pulled together with him under the same yoke. His faithfulness, industry, and punctuality in administrative matters, in the agency for the mission undertaking, and in the affairs of the Sustentation have taught me to prize him highly, and it will pain me to part with him for ever.—I have utmost confidence and faith in him, that he will fill Count Henry's [*i. e.* Henry, Count XXVIII of Reuss] place in the personnel department very well. But, how is his place to be supplied here? He was the best and most pleasing reader in our Church. In administrative matters straight-forward and devoted. And I must tell you in confidence that I do not consider him replaced by Brother C. [Cunow], though the latter is much more active and drives ten times in his chaise to Christiansbrunn for every time that Brother Schweiniz has gone there." E.P. No. 922a.

[27] The Society's original articles of constitution provided for two classes of members. Those in the first were to pay a lump sum of £10 Pa. currency upon election to the Society and a semi-annual assessment of five shillings thereafter; those in the second class half the amount in each case. All entrance fees were to be funded; stated sums made up from interest and assessments combined, were to be paid after each member's death to his widow for life. In case of emergencies, extra levies were provided for. As the Society's capital grew in after years, its constitution was repeatedly amended. Today each member is admitted upon payment of a single sum of $50; there are

Soon after his call to the board in Bethlehem, Ettwein and his colleagues were faced with an important decision. The Governing Board had moved to clarify financial relations between the American Church and the Unity. In March 1768 they sent a long communication to Bethlehem, proposing four alternate methods of determining finally the ownership of the Church holdings in this country. The Herrnhut Board itself favored the third alternative which contained the following provisions: All land owned by the Church in America was to be assessed at a moderate rate and the resulting total entered as a credit in favor of the Unity. All permanent buildings and other major improvements in the Pennsylvania settlement congregations should be transferred to the ownership of the provincial board in Bethlehem which would, in turn, assume the deficit resting on the whole work. Moreover, this same board would become responsible for carrying on the collective activities of the American congregations. An agreement along these lines would, indeed, involve an apparent injustice, since among the debts to be assumed by the American board would be the sum of about £7000 for the purchase of land. However, the value of the improvements surrendered to the Bethlehem board would more than cover this amount.[28]

Furthermore, this inequity would be more apparent than real, since the procedure of assessing the land and crediting the resultant sum to the Unity was a purely formal effort to find some basis for a system of accounting which would prove satisfactory to both parties. In the future, real estate occupied by permanent improvements should be leased from the Unity by the American board at a figure which they themselves should propose. Thenceforward all sales of land and all income derived from the cultivation or the lease of land would also be credited to the Unity. However, since Bethlehem found itself in straits for want of

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no further fees of any kind. Should his wife die before him and he not re-marry, neither he nor his estate draw any benefit from the investment. Should he die first, his widow receives her proportionate share of the income from the Society's funds semi-annually. For a considerable number of years, every beneficiary has drawn more each year than the $50.00 which her husband originally paid.

[28] According to Ettwein, more than £20,000 had been invested in the buildings belonging to the Church—See E.P. 885. In 1792, they were officially valued at £10,700, on which amount the American province was paying interest at the rate of 7%. See E.P. No. 1177.

cash, it would be permitted to keep and use all such income for the present, while agreeing to refund it ultimately and paying interest on it in the meantime.

After due deliberation, Ettwein and his colleagues found themselves unable to accept this solution. The income accruing under it would have been insufficient to carry on the work to which they were pledged in this country. Nor could any loans be negotiated upon the security of buildings which stood on Unity property. Moreover, they felt hurt at being charged with intentionally concealing profits made by the Church in this country, through their failure to report investments in new buildings and farms. For various reasons, the matter could not be explained in detail by letter, Ettwein wrote, but Bishop Nathanael Seidel would clear it up when he came to Germany to attend the General Synod of 1769. The Bethlehem board again asked Herrnhut to believe them more than willing to do their part both for the Unity as a whole and for the work in Pennsylvania. They reported a loss in Bethlehem industries for the current year, but a net gain of £1671 /17 /3 ½ over the period of six years following Spangenberg's departure. While they did not see the way open to turn over all communal enterprises to private ownership as yet, this would continue to be their ultimate aim. They pointed out that Bethlehem had met all its current expenses since the Economy system had been abandoned and that these included many provincial obligations in addition to strictly local matters: such as the cost of the water system, the night watchman, lovefeasts, lights, church repairs, poor relief, police supervision, funerals, and schooling for their children. The Bethlehem board agreed that a proper understanding as to the distinction of the property of the Unity and that of the local congregation was desirable. But as men intrusted with the welfare of the Church in America, they could not agree to a course which, they believed, would stifle all growth in this land. Thus Ettwein, that same month, when forwarding money due the Unity, wrote in a paragraph which he later thought it better to delete:

If my dear Brethren were to make some other Brother responsible for attending to the contribution, I would consider this a token of special love and favor! Not that I am at all unwilling to serve my dear Brethren wherever I can, but simply because I am a member of the local

administrative board and have too intimate a connection with the circumstances of the Unity in America; so that, when I perceive the need, I risk using my deposit for it and afterward am unable to meet the other claim as I should.[29]

The truth was, no one in America realized as yet the desperate plight in which the Unity authorities found themselves at that very time. The members of the Bethlehem board were horrified when finally they learned the amount of the debt that threatened to bury the Church. But even prior to that time, they had assured their Brethren in Germany, that they would gladly do their part to help, even though no individual members on this side possessed any great wealth and many Moravians in the cities were already overburdened because of demands made upon them by their poverty-stricken neighbors. It hurt the Americans again to be charged with lukewarmness to the Unity in its hour of need, though they had to confess that some among their membership could not understand why local opportunities for expansion should go unattempted for lack of funds, so that debts incurred in Europe might be paid. Gifts from America towards the Church deficit had fluctuated considerably. In 1762 the sum of £219 had been collected in America as a "compassionate contribution" [Mitleidenheit]; in 1763, £333/6/5¾; in 1764, £296/9/5. In 1767, Ettwein reported £411/10/8 sent as the American quota for the Unity, exclusive of North Carolina's contribution of £60; in 1768 £350/14/9¼. Ettwein reported to interested members in Zeist, probably in the year 1771, that American contributions toward the Unity's debt had averaged £648 a year, the interest on £16,200 at 4%. In addition, the American workers cheerfully recognized their obligation to contribute regularly to current demands on the Sustentation account. Thus, in 1770, Ettwein reported that the Bethlehem congregation with its various Choirs had pledged a total of £292, to be collected from individuals in weekly amounts ranging from two shillings to a copper.[30]

Not until 1771 did the American Moravians learn the full seriousness of the financial crisis from two prominent representatives sent to this country for that purpose, Christian Gregor[31]

[29] E.P. No. 886.

[30] See E.P. No. 1338.

[31] Bishop Christian Gregor, born at Diersdorf, Silesia, Jan. 1, 1723,

and John Loretz[32]—von Schweinitz accompanying them to take up his duties as manager of the Unity properties in America. Ettwein had looked forward to their coming rather hopefully, for in America:

> things are quite different in many respects from the way our dear Brethren in Europe picture them, and we confidently trust that by means of this deputation an end may be put to unfounded ideas about our state, which are so harmful to love and complete confidence.[33] Our dear European congregations surely have an entirely wrong picture of our town and country congregations. We cannot possibly report them in any other way or place them in any other category than that of little diaspora[34] groups, though they have a different organization than the latter. They just barely support their ministers and keep up their premises; in some places they cannot even do that satisfactorily and we have to subsidize them . . . We, who know their circumstances, cannot but be entirely content with them and give thanks to our dear Lord, for having made them so willing and for sustaining them hitherto.[35]

Imagine, then, the shock with which the Bethlehem leaders heard the news brought by the Europeans. They learned to their dismay that the special exertions of the Church in recent years had not been sufficient even to meet the interest due on its indebtedness. At first they feared to pass on such information to their membership and did so only after consulting the lot, but the event put their fears to shame. People still were poor in Bethlehem, yet they were willing "to give all save the clothes on their backs." Many were earning no income at all, being

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died at Herrnhut, Nov. 6, 1801. United with the Moravians in 1742, becoming organist of the Herrnhut congregation and one of the most distinguished hymnologists of the Moravian Church. From 1764 to his death he served as a member of the Governing Board, being especially active in official visitations.

[32] John Lore(t)z, born in Switzerland, the member of a well-to-do family, died in Gnadenfrei, Silesia, 1798. A member of the Governing Board and often employed to represent the Church in its dealings with civil authorities.

[33] E.P. No. 847. The latter part of this quotation was later modified by him.

[34] Diaspora is the term applied to groups of men and women within State Church communions on the continent of Europe, who are ministered to by Moravians. Such groups keep their original church affiliations intact, while welcoming the spiritual service of these workers. This unique institution is an outgrowth of Zinzendorf's efforts to promote godliness rather than denominationalism.

[35] E.P. No. 1260.

willing to continue serving the common good for no more than their food and lodgings.[36] Others had had opportunity to acquire private property only since the Economy had ended, eight years before. All were still compelled to be very frugal and shun waste of any kind. Yet within a few days Bethehem alone raised £2000 by an extraordinary collection, the members pledging to continue their regular weekly contributions as heretofore. And in Nazareth £312/9/0 were subscribed.

Under these conditions of stress the following agreement was reached between the representatives of the Unity and the Bethlehem board. All Church property in America, not specifically representing contributions from the local members, was claimed by the Unity. The Bethlehem congregation agreed to take over approximately four thousand acres of land at £2, Penn'a currency, the acre. It also acquired all local buildings and industries from the Unity. The total sum chargeable to Bethlehem amounted to £28,940/19/10, a very heavy obligation for a town of 560 inhabitants. But the men of that generation had faith in the future of their community and desired, at the same time, to make a worthy contribution toward the reduction of the Church's debt. However, the Unity did not sell the land outright at this figure. While Bethlehem could hold it under a perpetual lease, only upon mutual agreement between Bethlehem and Herrnhut could any of it be disposed of. The profit from the sale of land at increased values was not to benefit the local congregation, but was to be used by Bethlehem in support of Moravian efforts to further the cause of Christ in America. Yet it was recognized that this arrangement brought to a definite end the old order, the "General Economy" of the Unity in America, under which all the expenses and all the income of the Church in this country had constituted a single, common account. Henceforth, congregational interests were clearly to be distinguished from provincial undertakings, even though Bethlehem congregational boards became responsible for the future administration of all the property covered by this agreement.[37]

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[36] As late as 1788, Ettwein stated that there still were some twenty-five aged persons in Christiansbrunn and Gnadenthal alone, who had served in this way for more than thirty years. See E.P. No. 17 and 17a.

[37] The Brethren who were empowered to terminate the General

Finally, to finance the joint responsibilities of the whole work in America, a separate Sustentation account was begun. The arrangement arrived at can best be summarized in Ettwein's own words:

In 1771 the deputies of the U.E.C., *i. e.* our dear Brethren Gregor, Lorez, and Schweiniz, terminated, as they were empowered to do, the American General Church Enterprise [General Diaconat] and organized the administration of the Unity's funds. Two very important problems immediately called for consideration. 1. The needs of the congregational administration in Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Litiz. 2. Retired workers, evangelists and couples who formerly served in the Economy (of whom there were more than one hundred, who looked to the Unity for their support, either wholly or at least in part), provincial or general expenses, journeys by land and water, correspondence, widows and orphans of the laborers in the city and country congregations, in so far as the collections for children should not suffice.

For the former, certain congregational undertakings were alloted. For the latter, a special administration was set up and charged with attending to all such needs. For this purpose a portion of the clear income was to be devoted, which, with God's blessing, could be expected annually from certain congregational undertakings in Bethlehem, together with a portion of the collections in the city and country congregations. In reply to the question: "Whence are deficits to be met, should they occur in this administration, since it cannot go into debt?" The answer was made: "Should deficits occur, then there would indeed be no other way to meet them than by having the administrative board of the Unity bear them."[38]

Economy did not, however, see fit to put any similar plan into effect with regard to the Church's holdings in the vicinity of Nazareth. They sold 800 acres of the best of this land and left the remainder to be a source of income for the Unity. They thought to provide in this way also for the needs of those men who had claims upon the Church; these could be placed in agricultural colonies at Christiansbrunn and Gnadenthal, etc. For nearly twenty years their expectations were fulfilled; in time, however, such church-worked farms and businesses proved about as unsatisfactory as had the Economy itself—and for very similar reasons. According to Ettwein, the real trouble lay in the fact that these employees of the Church became farmers at heart and wanted wives and homesteads of their own. By 1792, von Schweinitz urged disposing of the entire 2500 acres and funding the proceeds for the benefit of the Unity. Ettwein, however, consistently and successfully opposed any indiscriminate sale of land during his lifetime, maintaining that real estate would steadily appreciate in value during the years. He advocated leasing farms and industries to tenants who should share the clear profits on a percentage basis.

[38] E.P. No. 887.

For a few years this arrangement worked reasonably well, though reactions to it made themselves felt immediately. For one thing, the American Church threw its weight behind those Moravians in Europe who considered putting the administration of the Church on a sound financial basis their primary task. For another, Ettwein pointed out repeatedly, that, while Bethlehem had formerly borne the major part of the support of retired or furloughed missionaries, this could not continue under the newly introduced system. He begged the Governing Board not to make a practice of shipping to America all the square pegs whom it could no longer use in the West Indian mission. Bethlehem had no factories in which to employ them. A single protest will suffice to show this trend.

We have not yet received a letter from Brother Schemes;[39] it is unpleasant, indeed, to have Bethlehem made responsible for all individuals of that kind; yet what can we do? If they come to us, we have to receive them.[40] [Should Brother Schemes come to Bethlehem,] and not be able to support himself, it would be unfair to have the mission administration shake him off without further ado.[41]

The American board now felt at liberty also to complain when administrative costs seemed excessive, since they were being charged with them. Particularly, Ettwein felt it necessary to protest against the cost of official journeys. Of course such expenses were bound to be heavy.

Journeys cost too much, [wrote Ettwein in 1786.] [Deleting] and they are too frequent in the Unity [he continued] What have I journeyed away, and yet I count myself as one of the least expensive pilgrims.[42]

After the visitation of Bishop von Watteville, whom Ettwein considered too old to do work commensurate with the outlays involved at any rate,[43] he remarked:

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[39] Henry William Schemes, born at Arholdsen, Germany, Feb. 24, 1726, died at Bethlehem, April 28, 1777. He learned to know the Moravians in St. Croix, D.W.I.; came to Bethlehem in 1752, and then served as missionary in Jamaica and Surinam, returning to Bethlehem in 1775.

[40] E.P. No. 857.

[41] E.P. No. 858.

[42] E.P. No. 896.

[43] Two years later Ettwein hesitated to accept a call to attend General Synod in Germany on the grounds that he himself was too old to warrant the Church spending the money his journey would entail—this despite the fact that he longed to see familiar places and faces

I often grieve that the Governing Board does not receive more help from Pennsylvania. But what shall I say when I hear that Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Litiz have paid more than £3500 in the last eight years, just for the journeys of official visitors, workers, and other Brethren between us and you, exclusive of the many other expenditures which our work requires.[44]

In 1796 he noted that Brother and Sister Schaaf[45] and their company [ten persons in all] spent £599 on their journey, not counting cash advanced to them for personal needs. This proved the straw that broke the American camel's back. It resulted in the Bethlehem board supporting a petition by the congregational organizations hitherto charged with such expenses, requesting the Governing Board also to contribute towards them in future.

Had America been spared the scourge of war, Moravians in this country might have been able to work out their financial salvation along the lines laid down in 1771. But with the outbreak of the Revolution, their economic situation rapidly changed for the worse. Confiscatory fines were laid upon all men who refused to bear arms; and while the total amount levied upon the Moravian settlements cannot be established with accuracy, it must have been a staggering sum for those days, and it bled the communities white. The Bethlehem Single Brethren's House had been a veritable hive of industry up to that time; now it was converted into an army hospital, and the skilled workmen who occupied it scattered. Bethlehem suffered from the effects of that blow long after the building itself had been returned to the Church. Moreover, when peace finally came, America was flooded by goods manufactured in Europe at a price with which local artisans could not compete. Taxes on real estate soared. Most serious of all, the years had brought about a change in outlook on the part of young folks within the Church. The following lam-

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again. Had his colleagues in Bethlehem agreed with this view he would have declined the invitation of the Governing Board. As it was, he insisted on the matter being submitted to the lot before agreeing to go. E.P. No. 793.

[44] E.P. No. 901.

[45] Christian Frederick Schaaf, born at Berthelsdorf near Herrnhut, Jan. 11, 1759, died at Salem, N. C., July 23, 1841. He served in various positions in the Northern Province after his arrival in America in 1795, becoming president of the provincial board for a brief time. In 1819 he was called to Salem.

entation by Ettwein cannot be dismissed as merely an old man's pessimism.

It is difficult to carry on the Paedagogium and Boarding School in Nazareth together. Most of the instructors there ought to be set to rights on a number of counts. The young scholars are worldly, impudent, and wild, causing much worry and dissatisfaction among the workers; Brother Reichel[46] finds his official burden a heavy one. And there is room for considerable improvement in the Girls' Boarding School here. As I watch the whole situation, I could hope for much blessing from it, to the gain of the Kingdom of God; but both those in charge and our children, profit little from their opportunities. Taking pleasure in aping worldly things and worldly follies is a pestilence that no longer walks in darkness. The Single Brethren's establishment is insolvent. That a large part of our youth takes pleasure in the world and its follies and no longer prizes simplicity and the imitation of Christ, is not to be denied. My prayer, when I contemplate this blot is: "Do Thou convert us, Lord."[47]

It is a fact, that the intense devotion and crusading spirit which had impelled so many of the early settlers to come to these shores, no longer lived in their children. What the Church fathers had dreaded, was now an accomplished fact. A new order had marched into Bethlehem in the train of the Continental Army, hastening the process of transformation. No longer was it possible to carry on the town as a distinctive religious settlement, a place loyal to peculiar aims and conformed to unique regulations. For better or worse, the Moravians were rapidly being fused in the great melting pot which has produced our nation.

Financially, the immediate effects of this change were disastrous. By 1785, provincial expenditures in America so greatly exceeded income, that all reserves set aside in more prosperous years had been used up. Ettwein wrote that the prospects for those industries, upon which the Church chiefly depended for income, were exceedingly poor. The recently established Paeda-

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[46] Charles Gotthold Reichel, born at Hennersdorf in Germany, July 14, 1751, died at Niesky, Germany, April 17, 1825. He was the son of a Lutheran minister; was educated in Moravian schools and joined the latter Church in 1764. He served in Germany as teacher and secretary of the Governing Board and came to America in 1783. The following year he became pastor of Nazareth congregation and head of Nazareth Hall school. Subsequently he served on the provincial boards of both North and South and returned to Germany in 1818.

[47] E.P. No. 920.

gogium in Nazareth had become an additional financial drain. About £300 a year went towards the upkeep of widows, the policy of the board being to supply a free midday meal to all living in the Widows' House, while providing the entire support of those who had grown aged and unable to earn anything. But, Ettwein complained, widows who were quite capable of doing something for themselves began to look to the Church for similar treatment. And husbands had come to count on the Church doing this; as a result they would often leave only the income of their estates to their widows, bequeathing their small capital to their children.

Ettwein also strongly opposed another trend which caused provincial expenditures to mount steadily: retired ministers and other church workers had come to expect pension allowances quite irrespective of the question whether they could support themselves or not. This Ettwein felt to be wrong. A consecrated servant of the Church should not grow fat at the expense of the needy. The more the Sustentation deficit grew, the more emphatic his views became on this subject.

You have gathered a pretty fortune, [he wrote to one worker in 1795,] so that you don't need half the interest on your capital for your maintenance; and yet you let yourself be supported by the congregation and the Sustentation treasuries. Is this not a shame in your case, and a proof of your love of money? I am an administrator of this poor, debt-ridden account and can no longer look on in silence.[48]

Yet he could sympathize with and be generous to those who had impoverished themselves in the ministry and who stood in real need of help. In all other cases he tried to establish the rule: that those persons who had any means of their own and still drew the allotted pension, either must bequeath their property to the Church or, at least, agree to have the total sum thus paid over to them deducted from their estate after death.

By 1788, full ebb set in. Now the Unity commenced subsidizing the Single Brethren's establishment in Bethlehem. By 1792, the Sustentation account had accumulated a deficit of £500 and its income from congregational industries had practically dried up.

When I reflect upon the way some of them are managed, [wrote Ettwein,] I become quite melancholy; and yet I cannot think of any

[48] E.P. No. 1223.

suggestion to make to my Brethren, looking towards their improvement.[49]

In 1799, the annual deficit in the Sustentation account had reached £302/5/9¾ and its total debt £3087/1/9½. The sources of income designated in 1771 manifestly were no loner adequate to meet provincial obligations. The best solution Ettwein could propose was the following. If the Governing Board would either assume the debt and cancel it, or at least forgive all interest upon it until the next General Synod could reach some final decision regarding it, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Lititz would become responsible for future shortages in this account. These congregations had agreed to draw upon their local treasuries, hereafter, to meet such deficiencies, Bethlehem paying ten shillings in the pound, Nazareth six, Lititz four.

The progressive decay of the Choir system had other portentous consequences. Hitherto, it had been the practice to draw church leaders from among the Single Brethren, selecting young men who showed special gifts and who gave promise of faithful service. Indeed, this Choir had been a kind of training school for the ministry. The steady retrogression of Single Brethren's establishments began to foreshadow trouble in wider spheres. As early as 1773 Ettwein expressed his misgivings. He realized, he said, that one purpose in the organization of the Single Brethren's Choir had been that of supplying the Church with missionaries. Yet he pointed out that thus it was constantly being drained of its best members. Unless adequate replacements could be provided, the Choir would soon show the effect of this, and, in the end, so would the whole Church. As the years passed, this became one of the growing burdens which he had to carry. He recognized that the Single Brethren's Choir, particularly that of Bethlehem, occupied a vital place in the Church's life. He had to watch it disintegrate, gradually but surely, and seemed powerless to stay the process.

Whenever I come to think of the condition of our Single Brethren's Houses, then, even in the midst of the most fervent sense of rejoicing in the Lord and His Church, I became a prey to melancholy. The shortage of Brethren and the want of whole-heartedness among most of

[49] E.P. No. 1177.

those who are there, the lack of blessing upon the establishments, are painful subjects . . . I do not know what to do! God help us.[50]

He feared for the future. The whole Church would have to suffer for it, either in his generation or the next.

Ettwein proved only too true a prophet in this. He was to live to face an acute shortage of workers in the whole American field. Frequently, opportunities opened to organize new centers, but had to be neglected. Even established work was crippled for lack of men to carry it on. Thus, for example, Ettwein wrote concerning Newport, R. I.:

It would pain me, if it should be given up entirely, because it is a fine center for preaching. But of what use are churches and pulpits, when one does not have preachers.[51]

The problem of manning the Church in America is a constantly recurring theme in Ettwein's correspondence with the Governing Board. Yet as a remedy he could only suggest a revitalizing of the Choir system, for Ettwein was rooted in the old order. He begged that the best man procurable in the whole Unity be sent to head the Bethlehem Brethren's House, so that days of old might be restored. He pled for choice young men from Europe to act as a "healthy seasoning" in that institution; he suggested that perhaps certain few promising members of the Bethlehem Choir might be sent to spend some years in a European Choir institution, hoping that this would prove both their own salvation and an impetus for the regeneration of the Choir in this country.

Apparently, Ettwein had no hope of securing an adequate supply of Church workers in this country. Instead, he sought to arrange for the coming of five or six consecrated young men annually to fill out the personnel of the ministry which had been "patched and darned" to the limit. But he begged his Brethren of the Governing Board to remember that a thorough command of English was rapidly becoming essential for laborers in America. By 1791, Ettwein reported five English-speaking congregations. He complained that even Brother Klingsohr,[52] "that

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[50] E.P. No. 914.

[51] E.P. No. 1103.

[52] John Augustus Klingsohr, born at Hündorf near Leipzig, June 13, 1746 and died at Bethlehem, Nov. 5, 1798. A graduate of the universi-

great orator'' who was pastor of Bethlehem, could not deliver an address in this tongue. Should he himself die, his place ought certainly to be filled by someone at home in English, he said, both for the sake of supervising Church affairs and also for carrying on negotiations with civil authorities. It is evident that Ettwein failed to realize fully what manner of day had dawned in this land: that the Choir system contained elements alien to the spirit of the new world which was coming into being about him and that some better way must be found to secure a ministry of the American Church, which would be truly native to this country. The time in which he lived inevitably was a difficult one. Profound readjustments are not to be accomplished in any Church life without cost. Moreover, the younger generation was dazzled by the opening resources of this continent. Other insistent voices summoned young men; under such circumstances none would find it easy to hear and answer the call to the ministry. And Ettwein had also to face what has since become a major problem of the Moravian Church in this country: how prevent young folks who belonged to country congregations from scattering in search of better prospects and being lost to so small a communion? The remedy he proposed was to secure land grants from the State of Pennsylvania; there those who really desired Moravian preaching might obtain farms on easy terms and settle in such numbers as to justify organizing new congregations.

No account could hope to do justice to the position of a Moravian leader in the eighteenth century which failed to recognize the importance of the Moravian conception and use of the lot. Belief in this institution had come down from Zinzendorf and the early years of the Renewed Church. Most Moravians in Ettwein's day would be inclined to agree with the fathers that the lot represented a special leading of God in their communion, a gracious gift whereby His will could definitely be determined under all circumstances. One of the major subjects dealt with by successive General Synods throughout this century was the

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ties of Jena and Leipzig, he united with the Moravian Church in 1772, serving it in various places in Germany. In 1783 he came to America and was appointed pastor of Lititz and, in 1790, of Bethlehem, being greatly beloved of his people. He also served as a member of the provincial board.

"government of the Saviour" carried on through its medium.[53]

Resort to the lot was incredibly frequent. It decided matters of importance, such as the founding of new congregations or missions; but appeal would also be made to it in questions that seem trifling to us—as, for example, the choice of a travelling companion for a visiting bishop or the granting of permission to a member to spend some time with her parents in Germany. Even business affairs were still occasionally regulated by its means. Yet there were considerations limiting its use. Where the duty of the Church appeared entirely plain, no appeal to the lot could be made. To submit to it the name of some manifestly unqualified person as a candidate for any office in the Church, would be to sin against it. On the other hand, where exceedingly serious issues arose, the lot would first be consulted to discover whether the Church might submit the case to it for final decision. If permission were obtained, in such a case, no one might properly act for the Church who strongly favored either alternative; other Brethren would purposely be selected to put the question. On occasion, the lot might direct the leaders to be guided by their own judgment or by that of the individuals directly involved.

Usually, three answers were provided for in every appeal to the lot: one affirmative, one negative, the third blank. As a rule this last lot was understood to indicate that the time for decision had not come as yet in the matter. But the Brethren might also agree beforehand upon the course of action which a blank lot would authorize in any special case. No consistent rule seems to have governed them in this. For example, when the name of a Sister had been proposed as the prospective wife of some Brother and the blank lot was drawn, this could be interpreted to mean

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[53] Moravians often permitted the watchword for the day to determine their decision in any doubtful matter, even when they did not resort to the lot. References to this custom abound in Ettwein's records. Two letters are especially interesting in this connection. In 1772 Ettwein wrote: "On my last day in Bethlehem [prior to his extended journey among the Indians], I told my Saviour with a heavy heart what Moses had said: 'We will not go up except Thy Presence go before us.' Thereupon, I took the box I use for drawing the lot, and received the words: 'Behold I am with you!' E.P. No. 1145. Ettwein also tells of his having been in great anxiety because of the hazardous position of the missionaries to the Indians in 1791. He took the text-book in his hand. It fell open successively to the dates 20th and 26th, Deut. 2:7 and Joshua 13:1, and he was comforted. E.P. No. 1248.

either that the board should consult the Brother as to his wishes before submitting the same name a second time, or, that they were free immediately to consider another Sister, or, that the Brother might offer marriage to the Sister in question on his own responsibility, or, that he himself should select another Sister. In general, men inclined to interpret answers received through the lot by means of their individual judgment. Thus Ettwein planned a last visit to New England in 1798. But, on referring the matter to the lot, he found himself forbidden to do so. This he recognized to have been a special mercy when, a few days later, his intended travelling companion sickened and died. Feeling that he now understood the intention of the Saviour in negativing his plans, he submitted the question once more and received permission to go.

That such a convenient method of ascertaining the will of God with certainty could be of great value to the Church, is quite evident. When faced with difficult alternatives, men often found relief by turning to it for a solution of honest perplexity. Thus Ettwein sought its guidance when he experienced no "inner joy" in contemplating an interview with a co-worker with whom he had formerly had frequent misunderstandings, or when he feared that an official visit to Nazareth might result in more harm than good at a particular juncture. And the leading of the lot justified itself so strikingly at times, that it "called forth his adoration". A certain decision reached by the European board on the strength of the lot caused Ettwein to exclaim: "Oh, how good it is that one may rely upon the wisdom and faithfulness of Him, Whom one serves."[54] Further, where marked division of opinion existed among any group, resort to the lot meant the elimination of all lingering dissatisfaction among the minority; for, after the Saviour had spoken, no difference of opinion could persist. On the other hand, the unpredictable nature of the lot tended to restrain any single man from dominating the policies of the Church; even the most dogmatic views could be silenced by an appeal to the "government of the Saviour". And finally, any course of action which had the approval of the lot could be followed with utmost courage and confidence: men who know their

[54] E.P. No. 957.

acts to possess the immediate sanction of God are not easily appalled by lesser considerations.

However, the admitted advantages of this practice depend upon an implicit acceptance of the lot as a reliable method of determining the will of God. As soon as the suspicion of a doubt arose, this "peculiar jewel" of the Moravian Church lost most of its usefulness and tended to stir dissension. And Ettwein lived in the period when such doubts began to be voiced. They resulted chiefly from experiences which seemed hard to reconcile with belief in divine control of the lot. Thus it happened that men would be admitted to Church membership with the approval of the lot, only to demonstrate by their lives that they did not belong there. To guard against this very thing, Spangenberg had counselled Ettwein, as early as 1755, not to submit the names of any candidates unless all the workers were in full accord as to the fitness of each. Or, a marriage, which had been authorized in this way, would terminate soon after through the unfaithfulness of one of the contracting parties. Moreover, cases became increasingly common in which the course followed by direction of the lot really went counter to the better judgment of those involved. Thus Ettwein accepted office as head of the Bethlehem Board of Elders in 1770 because the lot so decided, though he had previously declined on the ground of frequent absence from town. Similarly, Jacob Lösch[55] had reluctantly to be called to Bethlehem, where there was no vacancy for him, from North Carolina, where he had been doing satisfactory work. Mission stations, also, were kept open after it had become apparent to all concerned that they had fulfilled their purpose. A sentence like the following is pregnant with implications:

> Today Brother Philip finally received permission to partake of the Communion again; the question had been put concerning him very often before this.[56]

Occasionally, necessary removals of ministers from one congre-

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[55] Jacob Lösch, born near Schoharie, N. Y., Nov. 22, 1722 and died as the result of falling from his horse while journeying to Hope, N. J., Nov. 8, 1782. He was one of the original group of Moravians who began the development of Wachovia in 1753, becoming its first warden. In 1769 he was recalled to serve in the North, being warden of the property of the Unity in Nazareth when he died.

[56] E.P. No. 1216.

gation to another would be completely blocked by the lot, leaving the leaders at their wits' end. The following entry in the minutes of the Provincial Helpers' Conference [Aug. 9, 1777] shows how the lot could issue in a blind alley.

Brother Heckwaelder's written statement concerning his return and his plans for marriage was read to the satisfaction of conference. But since various doubts were expressed because of the uncertainties of the present time and the board could reach no decision as to what would be best under present circumstances, it was decided to submit the case to the Saviour in the form of the following lots:

1. The Saviour approves our taking steps to have Brother Heckewaelder marry now and return this fall.

2. The Saviour approves Brother Heckewaelder returning as a bachelor again for this time.

3. A blank lot.

The blank lot was drawn. Thereupon the following question was submitted: Does the blank lot indicate that we should not reach a decision in this matter for the present? Two lots were submitted and the negative drawn. Therefore, the case must lie over undecided, until after the festival of the Single Brethren, or until circumstancs require its reconsideration.

During Ettwein's administration considerable pressure became apparent in the American Church to limit the use of the lot. To a certain extent he sympathized with this. As early as 1769, he had agreed with the position of the American board (subsequently reversed by the Governing Board) in calling Sister Gammern[57] to head the Widows' Choir in Bethlehem without resort to the lot, because no other suitable candidate could be found for this position. In 1775, he protested against Church officials evading their responsibilities by submitting to the lot a thing which was clearly their duty, just because the duty threatened to prove difficult or unpleasant. Any course of action which the constitution of the Church provided for, he maintained, should not be referred to the lot. In 1782, Ettwein's more liberal views involved him in a heated debate with a colleague. In Hope, N. J., where the Choir system had not as yet been introduced, the supply of apprentices for various trades

[57] Juliana Benedicta von Gammern, m. n. Mauersberg, born at Panten, Silesia, March 21, 1717, died at Bethlehem, Sept. 12, 1807. Married the Rev. Abraham von Gammern in 1751 and came to North Carolina in 1761. In 1789 she received the appointment that had been planned for her in 1769.

represented an acute problem. Employers had been importing lads from other places without seeking permission to do this. The issue was this: if, later, such an apprentice should express his desire to join the Hope congregation, must the lot first be consulted as to whether the Lord approved the presence of this individual in that settlement, before putting the question as to his fitness for membership? Ettwein thought such a course would be quite unnecessary.[58] By 1791, the board of which he was a leading member, made it a practice to extend calls even to ministerial Brethren without resort to the lot, if the latter were willing to accept them on these terms.

However, on the whole, Ettwein inclined to adhere more strictly to this old institution, than some other Americans. In 1775, he felt impelled to warn against any general practice of making appointments without consulting the lot, for: "It seems at times as though we didn't quite trust the Saviour to do our will!"[59] In the light of such an expression, one can understand the quandary in which he found himself when compelled to neglect the lot's clear instructions. Thus, in 1773, the General Board had directed Bethlehem to call David Zeisberger, Jr., from Christiansbrunn to Nazareth. This move had been submitted to the lot in Herrnhut and authorized by it. The American leaders unanimously doubted its wisdom, for thereby a comparatively young man would be advanced over the heads of old and tried workers, and little Nazareth saddled with the support of three married couples. However, Ettwein made an honest, if reluctant, effort. He met such determined opposition from all parties concerned, Zeisberger included, that he had to postpone the decision. Yet this worried him not a little.

How serious a view Ettwein took of this institution is evident from a protest which he penned against what he conceived to be a debasement of it on the part of his colleagues in 1785.

Our dear Brethren [*i. e.* the Governing Board] may well find food for thought in connection with various references in the minutes to

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[58] Yet only six years later, Ettwein ascribed the ill success of the Church's venture at Hope, N. J., in large part to the fact that it had been begun "wholly by sick and unstable Brethren, who came thither for this reason, or that, generally without any guidance from the lot." Note E.P. No. 1333.

[59] E.P. No. 867.

the employment of the lot. Our dear Brother Johannes [*i. e.* Bishop John von Watteville] was embarrassed about this himself, and I believe he refrained from sending on the first part of them for this very reason, since he intended adding some explanatory notes. But if our dear Brethren had witnessed the perplexities in which we often were involved, they would sympathize and forgive much. Yet it cannot be denied that selfwill, on the one hand, and too great concessions, on the other, often proved harmful. And now, I believe, we all think that it would have been better, if, upon drawing a dark lot, we had spent some time in prayer, in weeping, and in giving thanks, instead of letting ourselves become involved in greater darkness.

Lots were drawn at first concerning simple questions. Then it was desired to tack on an addition, and this addition was approved by the lot as the right one. Then the whole question was submitted to a third lot and was answered in the negative. That such a negative should thereupon be considered less absolute than the affirmative, is something I cannot understand to this day. Then the question was resubmitted in its original simple form, and the answer read yes! Such a proceeding seems less than satisfactory to me. I could, indeed, consider it to represent the permissive, but not the perfect and gracious, will of God.[60]

Another hard nut was provided Ettwein by the blunt refusal of the Single Brethren's Choir in Bethlehem to accept as their leader a Brother whose call had been approved by lot and accepted by him. The members of the Choir, egged on by certain other men who lacked appreciation of Choir institutions, protested against the call, though the Brother in question was already en route from Lititz. They desired another man, because they considered the choice of the board too strict a disciplinarian. The board found itself in a dilemma. To yield to the protest:

would provide a bad example for the future and would be degrading for the board and for the lot. But if we endeavor to root out the opposition to the government of our dear Lord in the Church, we also fear evil consequences in the Brethren's Choir. That is the state of affairs at present. God help us![61]

In the event, the Brother designated for office got wind of the reception awaiting him and withdrew his acceptance of the call, thus saving face for the board. But none the less, as Ettwein pointed out, this open insubordination on the part of the Choir against the traditional view of the lot was a disturbing omen.

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[60] E.P. No. 876.

[61] E.P. No. 901.

Another characteristic that had marked the Renewed Moravian Church in its earliest days began to show signs of wear within the communities over which Ettwein presided. Zinzendorf's conception of marriage still strongly colored the life of the settlements. Moravians looked upon true wedlock preeminently as a spiritual institution, intended to bring men and women into new and vital communion with God. Individuals should let thought for the Kingdom guide them when entering upon it, rather than any personal consideration. It was a step to be taken only with the approval of the Church, under the direct guidance of the Saviour by means of the lot. However, many misrepresentations are current as regards this. Moravians never had been compelled to accept the partners indicated by the lot for them; both parties retained the right to decline a choice against which their own judgment rebelled. Only when a Brother voluntarily asked the Church authorities to find a wife for him in this way, was he bound to abide by the selection. But the lot did have permissive force; throughout a long period no marriages were entered upon without its approval. Moreover, as long as men cherished implicit belief in the supernatural efficacy of the lot, that would be a rare individual who would trust in his own judgment in preference to its guidance. Only with the gradual decline of confidence in the lot, could personal choice truly assert itself.

It is easy to show that marriage remained primarily the concern of the community in Ettwein's day. The records repeatedly refer to it as "change of Choir", thus stressing the new relationships of the couple within the congregational organization. Nor is it just by chance that Moravian leaders used by preference the Scriptural word "helpmeet", for this term expressed exactly the position of a married Sister. Marriage was to be encouraged only when the interests of the Church made it desirable for some Brother "to be provided with" a helpmeet. Thus, for example, store keepers, inn keepers, or doctors had to be married men. Should a Brother filling such a position lose his wife, the authorities never let him wear weeds long. In the case of men engaged in the ministry this was even more essential. Ettwein's remarks relating to his own position after his wife's death, are illuminat-

ing. At the age of sixty-nine, a venerable bishop, who for years had been the head of the American Church, he wrote to inform the Brethren in Europe of his determination not to remarry, and added:

I have no special office in the congregation which would involve much intercourse with the Sisters. And even should I conduct a liturgy for the Single Sisters' or for the Widows' Choir in some emergency, or preach to them, it could be done without scandal here.[62]

However, few ministers found themselves in a similar position. Thus Ettwein wrote:

We encountered much difficulty with regard to filling the vacancy at Litiz. The only solution we could think of was giving Brother Grube[63] a helpmeet at once. Though in his sixty-third year, he agreed to our suggestion for the sake of the cause.[64] Or again: At the request of the Brethren and Sisters of Jamaica, Brother Franz[65] is to be provided with a Sister here and return to Jamaica as soon as possible.[66]

Practical considerations, especially economic pressure, also affected the policy of the Church in arranging for marriages. Ettwein reported a request from Brother von Marschall[67] in North Carolina for two or three Single Sisters to be sent from the north "for work in the field and, if need be, also for marriage." The Brethren in Bethlehem agreed to let two volunteers go and to have Lititz provide a third; but they also suggested that it might be well to start a Single Sisters' Choir in Wachovia![68] That was in 1768. Seven years later, Ettwein wrote again:

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[62] E.P. No. 879.

[63] Bernard Adam Grube, see biographical note on page 286.

[64] E.P. No. 870.

[65] Christian Franz of Witstock, Germany, came as missionary to Jamaica, Jan. 2, 1771, married Sr. Johanna Schober of Gnadenthal in Bethlehem, May 26, 1773, and died while in service in Jamaica, April 24, 1781,

[66] E.P. No. 859.

[67] Frederick William von Marschall, born at Stolpen in Saxony, Feb. 17, 1721, and died at Salem, N. C., Feb. 12, 1802. Son of Baron G. R. von Marschall, he was given a military training to prepare him to become an official of the Saxon government. But through the influence of his elder brother, he learned to know Zinzendorf and the Moravians and united with them. He became a member of the Governing Board in 1760 and was sent to America in 1761 as General Warden and assistant to Bishop Seidel. He rendered very distinguished service, particularly as Senior Civilis and Warden of Wachovia, from 1768 until his death.

[68] E.P. No. 842.

Brother Marschall has requested several Sisters for their widowers. We answered that we could not entrust Sisters to the care of a strange wagoner; but perhaps a Brother might come to be married here who would then take several Sisters with him.[69] Brother Valentine Beck[70] later carried out this suggestion.[71]

The case of Immanuel Nitschmann[72] provides a good example of the considerations which had to be kept in mind by the authorities when arranging for the marriage of the members. The Governing Board in Herrnhut directed Bethlehem to find a wife for Immanuel—this at the insistence of his father. Ettwein replied that they could not do so, because young Nitschmann would be unable to support a family, nor were rooms for additional married couples to be had at that time; moreover, other men ought to be provided for first, whose occupations made this change in their station highly desirable. However, the German board insisted; the young man was sounded out and—emphatically declined wedded bliss at this time.

That the American authorities foresaw difficulties in connection with their marriage policy, is evident from the following

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[69] E.P. No. 1101.

[70] John Valentine Beck, born at Sulah, Germany, July 25, 1731 and died at Bethania, N.C., May 7, 1791. He came to Wachovia in 1764 and served as pastor of Friedberg and Bethania from 1776 to his death.

[71] The marriage of Ettwein's own daughter, Maria Magdalene, was no less a matter for decision by the Church, than that of any other member. Ettwein wrote: "I had to take her away from Lititz, because she got the reputation of being a beauty. Here, too, things did not altogether suit me, else it might have been better for her to get a little older. Her marriage removes an anxiety from me. He is a nice Brother, a cabinet maker. E.P. No. 150. "Because I know of your interest in the matter I really want to inform you [*i. e.* Bishop John von Watteville] by means of this letter, of the marriage of my daughter M. M. [Maria Magdalena] with the single Br. D. K. [Brother David Kliest] When the time came to plan for this Brother, Br. H. [Brother J. A. Hübner] informed the board, that you had commissioned him to suggest the consideration of M. M. E. when the marriage of this Brother should be treated of. The preliminary question was put as to whether she might be proposed for the Brother, and the answer was yes. The following question received a similar answer. I held the marriage on April 25th with sensible unction, and I cherish the assurance that they shall become a blessed couple to the joy and honor of the Saviour and of the Church." E.P. No. 1215.

[72] Immanuel Nitschmann, born at Herrnhut, April 2, 1736, died at Bethlehem, March 25, 1790. He was the oldest son of Bishop John Nitschmann and came to America in 1761. He served as steward of the Single Brethren's House and was noted for his musical gifts. In the event he married twice!

points submitted by them for consideration by General Synod in 1775:

We request General Synod to legislate concerning the readmission of persons who leave the settlement because they see no prospects of marriage in it. Should they wed some outside party and then have a change of heart and desire readmission in the settlement or in one of the town and country congregations, how ought we to act?

There are cases of Brethren and Sisters whom we cannot keep indefinitely in the choirs of Single Brethren and Sisters. We would like to arrange for their marriage, indeed, this has been recommended to us privately. Yet we have no precedent to cover such cases: for, either they do not fit in the settlement congregation or positions cannot be found for them by which they would be able to earn their bread. Are we authorized to arrange for the marriage of Brethren and Sisters who have spent many years in the Choir Houses and then locate them in country congregations, as, for example, Emmaus or Schöneck? This would be contrary to the practice prevailing among us hitherto.

The marriage of the children belonging to our settlement congregations is also a matter of great concern to us. As yet none have been wedded here.[73]

Ettwein's personal comment indicates that those individuals who gave the authorities most trouble by insistent demands for marriage were being cared for in this period, while quiet folk, particularly among the Sisters, were passed over, though they often possessed better qualifications. And the authorities could no longer take for granted that members would allow themselves to be guided by the Church in this: witness the case of widow Bennet in Barbadoes. The Bethlehem board was exceedingly anxious that this Sister stay in the service and marry her husband's successor. But she had plainly stated she would not remarry in Barbadoes. At first, the Church fathers planned to send one of their number to that distant isle, to help Brother Angermann[74] woo and win her hand; they desisted only because: "It was to be feared that the widow Bennet might abide by her decision."[75]

The rising generation's attitude toward marriage proved a crucial matter. Just so long as the Church could direct its mem-

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[73] E.P. No. 1336.

[74] John Angermann, born at Anspach, Germany, came to America in 1761; went to Barbadoes as a missionary in 1773, and died there in 1775.

[75] E.P. No. 859.

bership in the choice of their life partners, would it be possible to maintain the exclusive settlement system. Segregation from the outside world was essential in order to carry out Zinzendorf's ideals successfully. But here again, the leaders met a current too strong for them. The spirit of this land defied regimentation. As normal family life increasingly replaced those institutionalized relations which had made the Economy possible, men and women grew less tolerant of church control where so vital a choice was concerned. The number of non-Moravians brought into the settlements through marriage increased rapidly, and their influence gave added impetus to forces working for change.

For an American Church was emerging. No longer would doctrine and practice be taken over bodily from Europe; the new world began to assert its right to modify them. Even the Economy may be looked on as a distinctively American experiment; certainly the readjustments necessitated by its termination provided fertile soil for new forms and new ideals. It is interesting to note how free the America Church leaders remained, at first, of any conscious striving for independence. Yet they recognized that a different life was pulsing through this new land, from that which had flourished in Europe with its carefully controlled institutions. They felt that the Governing Board on the other side of the Atlantic could not always understand their needs fully, even though some of its members had formerly been active here. Thus, in 1775, Ettwein reported the wish of certain Brethren—he himself evidently being of their number—that one member of the Governing Board should live in America during inter-synodal periods.[76]

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[76] Indeed, Etwein believed the same principle of decentralization could be applied quite beneficially within this country too: the American provincial helper ought to rotate between various congregations, taking charge of each in turn long enough to learn its individual situation thoroughly. This was not just theory with Ettwein: no other Church leader in his day possessed such extensive knowledge of the American Church, knowledge gained at first hand. He served for longer or shorter periods: Bethabara and Bethania in the South, and New York, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Hope, Lititz and Philadelphia in the North. Take a typical instance: in Aug. 1781, during Bishop John Frederick Reichel's visitation to America, it was decided that Ettwein should spend some time in Lititz. There the aging Bishop Hehl needed help in caring for the large district committed to his charge. Less than three months had passed before Ettwein could report having spent

There is too much opportunity for friction connected with absentee government for it to have worked altogether smoothly in the Moravian Church during the period under view. A rule forbidding members to spend their spare time in cultivating small farms, while devoting themselves chiefly to their respective trades, might be wise enough in the light of German conditions and yet work hardships in America. Again, the Bethlehem board could not agree to send verbatim copies of its minutes to Herrnhut, though the Administrative Board pressed for this repeatedly. It would, indeed, reluctantly comply with a direct order to this effect, though realizing the harm that might result from such a document falling into wrong hands. Again, Bethlehem did not hesitate to criticize its superior board for disregarding written and oral representations against unloading misfits from the West Indies here. And differences of opinion arose, from time to time, concerning the advisability of building Choir Houses in certain American congregations; Bethlehem may be excused for thinking itself better qualified for such decisions than Herrnhut. And Bethlehem would express such an opinion quite bluntly, on occasion. In 1773, Ettwein reported that the American board would proceed with the establishment of a Single Brethren's House in Nazareth, since all concerned were unanimous in desiring it, proposals from Germany to the contrary notwithstanding. He added:

> The suggestion was made, indeed, that we ought first to report the matter to you again and ask your opinion. But we could see no special use in this, since it would simply result in the whole project being delayed and postponed.[77]

Yet one should not infer from such instances that Moravians in this land were chafing unduly under foreign control. Ettwein, in particular, would have resented such a conclusion. He testified repeatedly, that it was a burden for American leaders not to hear from Europe for long periods during the wars which marked those decades. He assured his Brethren in words which ring true,

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a week or more in each of the neighboring town and country congregations. He planned to continue doing this twice yearly; for he was not satisfied with what he had seen: the workers left much to be desired as to "industry, the care of the sick, and the cure of souls," the people as to "confidence, love, and obedience." See E.P. No. 1097.

[77] E.P. No. 1087.

that Bethlehem did not desire to become an independent Church and that he himself had no taste for this. Yet, in such abnormal times, men had to assume responsibilities which they really did not covet in the least. To an American colleague, detained in Germany by the war, he wrote in 1778:

> But if you don't return for a year and a day, then you might as well stay on until next General Synod. In the meantime your son and daughter will learn to leap and sing. Then we might even go native to such an extent that we should want to become independent like the Indians in the forest, except God in mercy prevent it.[78]

Ettwein spoke for all his Brethren, when he said that Moravians in America were sustained during the trying years of the Revolution by the knowledge that they could count on the sympathy and intercession of their Brethren and Sisters in Europe: "but that is what the Unity signifies: where one member suffers, all suffer."[79]

However, wars often disrupted communications between the old world and the new. Once, nearly three years passed without a single word reaching Bethlehem from across the Atlantic. And these were days of stress and crisis; emergencies called for far-reaching decisions which simply could not be put off. Ettwein expressed the dilemma thus:

> The Synod of 1769 laid down the rule which applies to America also: appointments to the main offices in congregations and Choirs remain a prerogative of the U. E. C., subject only to the Saviour's will. Because of the long and unforeseen interruptions of communications, it is evident enough that an exception has to be made at present, and the U. E. C. must not find fault with the Provincial Helpers, if they act otherwise, when necessary in a given case. For cases might occur, where it would be a great sin to appeal to this rule and allow a congregation or Choir to suffer hurt until the U. E.C. could advise and help.
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> We, therefore, request our dear Brethren to alleviate the position of the Provincial Helpers in future and permit them to dispose of the members of their own board and of other workers in congregations and Choirs in any pressing emergency. The Saviour's approval would have to be sought on each occasion, when one or the other is to be moved. Yet, because of various experiences, one might limit this in such a way that two-thirds of the board would have to consider it

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[78] E.P. No. 1169c.

[79] E.P. No. 1218.

necessary and useful to take the proposal of the chairman or of any other Brother into consideration. Need knows no law. Yet such a ruling would strengthen the hands of the Provincial Helpers in arranging for the removal of Brethren and Sisters, and render the latter more amenable.[80]

The Governing Board saw the reasonableness of this request and granted it. Nearly twenty years later, in his ripe old age, Ettwein proved more willing to assume broad responsibilities over against the Governing Board than were his colleagues. He wrote as follows in reference to a situation which had arisen in the West Indian mission:

In view of the fact that Brother Lister[81] is alone and weak to boot, I proposed to send someone from here without delay to help him. But my colleagues would not hear of this, because they thought it would be presumptious of us. I thought: need knows no law . . . We know that it is not always possible to communicate with you from the West Indies. Might it not happen in some place where only one Brother is stationed that he become incapacitated or die? We should hear of it in a few weeks, perhaps, but you only after long delay. Would we be justified in pleading: "Obedience is better than sacrifice!" and try to comfort an afflicted widow and a sorrowing negro congregation with the assurance that we intended to write to you about it?[82]

We in America have become too remiss in our vocation: that of imbuing all men with the gospel, of building church settlements, of establishing mission stations and preaching places. True, it is dangerous to run overly great risks: yet we must not dread everything that appears difficult or be terrified by all thought of new undertakings.[83]

So reads one of Ettwein's last messages to the Church he loved. The man who penned those lines was one who coveted neither honor nor power, but who was found ready to shoulder responsibility at need. Looking back from the vantage point of a century and a half, we see that he failed to realize the degree of change which circumstances combined to effect in the Moravian Church during his lifetime. As a result, measures to provide an adequate ministry in America were unnecessarily delayed, and that proved a costly mistake. Yet Ettwein steered the Moravian Church

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[80] E.P. No. 870.

[81] Christian Lister, entered mission service in Jamaica in 1790 and died on that island on Dec. 23, 1803.

[82] E.P. No. 1114.

[83] E.P. No. 1344.

through the economic strain of the post-Economy period, through the dangers of the Revolutionary War, through critical stages in its transition from an exclusive brotherhood to a Church set within the fully rounded life of human society. To his faith, courage, and loyalty the Moravian Church in America owes a lasting debt.

Chapter 3

ADMINISTRATION OF MISSIONS

One avowed reason for the establishment of the Moravian Church in North America had been the evangelization of the savage tribes living on this continent. And during the second half of the eighteenth century Moravian missionaries made real progress in their task. The records of these decades tell how they led, not individuals alone, but a whole nation to accept Christianity. One name, beyond others, has become identified with this story, David Zeisberger.[1] His heroic ministry began in 1745 and did not end until in 1808, when he closed his eyes amid a circle of kneeling Indians, whose sobs gave tribute to his services among them. But behind the successful Christian missionary must ever stand the Church that sends him and supports him. During the greater part of Zeisberger's activity John Ettwein was the moving spirit of the Moravians in America. To his zeal in furthering the cause of missions, to his vigorous recommendations regarding method, to his unfailing sympathy during the years of stress and tragedy which wars and political developments were to bring upon this undertaking, Zeisberger and his fellow workers owed an incalculable debt. And though the evangelization of the Indians constituted only one of his many responsibilities, yet the records of that time indicate that Ettwein himself believed his contributions to the Indian mission to have been his most important service. Without question, too, he found greatest satisfaction in reviewing this part of his activity, as he felt the end draw near.

Ettwein did not take the stand, so common in his time, that un-

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[1] David Zeisberger, born at Zauchtenthal, Moravia, April 11, 1721 and died at Goshen, Ohio, Nov. 17, 1808. He came to Georgia as a runaway in 1737. In the early forties he enrolled in Bishop Spangenberg's class for missionary candidates and became its most illustrious product. From 1745 to his death he labored with remarkable success among many Indian tribes, the story of his life being marked with hardships and sorrows consequent upon the Indian wars. For details see Edmund de Schweinitz: *The Life and Times of David Zeisberger.*

evangelized heathen are ipso facto damned beyond the hope of salvation. This becomes most plain in a letter sent by him to Dr. Kunzie,[2] in response to a question raised by the latter concerning the position taken by C. R. Reichel,[3] a Moravian, in his *Die Bücher der heiligen Schrift Alten Testaments.*

I am one of those, [Ettwein wrote,] who believe that God will not suffer those well-meaning heathen to be lost, who have no opportunity to hear the Gospel proclaimed by fellow men. As I see it, my view redounds more to His praise, with Whom is no respect of persons, Who would have all men to be saved, Who has compassion on all His works, Who overlooked the times of ignorance in the past, the gracious and merciful Lord, Eternal Love, than were I to hold He had foreknown the myriads of heathen as unbelievers and had on that account caused them to be born in China, the Tartary, or the inland parts of America—that would indicate a [form of] reprobation. Cornelius was so situated, that angels, appointed to the service of those who are destined to inherit salvation, could direct him to a fellow man. I am familiar with similar cases in our own day, where an unknown messenger directed some spiritually distressed Indian in the forest to the Christian community. But whither could an angel have directed such a heathen at the head-waters of the Missisipe, a couple of 100 years ago? Should not an angel, who is able to tell an individual so plainly where he may receive instruction, be able himself to impart the instruction? Our knowledge is so fragmentary; it is sufficient for us to know God's plan for our salvation, though we have little knowledge of God's government in the spirit realm. He himself preached to the spirits in prison, I Pet. 3:19-4:6, so that even the dead might hear the gospel. I am

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[2] John Christopher Kunze, Lutheran clergyman, at ths time pastor of Christ Church in New York City and professor of oriental languages in Columbia College.

Dr. Kunze was a friend of the Moravians. Though a Lutheran, he had suggested that Anglican candidates for holy orders, who were unable to proceed to England because of the Revolutionary War, should be ordained by Moravian bishops in America. Ettwein, when he heard that this idea was being discussed by certain members of Congress, begged his friend Henry Laurens to use his influence to prevent any such request being formally presented to the Church. Ettwein stated that twenty years previously the Bishop of London had proposed having Moravian bishops in America act for the Anglican Church in the ordination of their candidates. Moravians could not consent to this, said Ettwein, for "a bishop of the Brothren's Church would count it a sin to ordain any man to such an office without possessing the assurance that the latter had personal faith in evangelical doctrines; he might even be an avowed deist!"—Bethlehem Diary, appendix to Nov. 11, 78.

[3] Charles Rudolph Reichel, born at Upper Lödlau near Altenburg, Germany, April 29, 1718, and died at Neukirch, Upper Lusatia, Oct. 25, 1794. He was prominent in the diaspora work of the German province (see page 147) and author of a number of exegetical works.

unacquainted with Ludenwald's *Seeligkeit der Heiden* and Luce's *Seeligkeitsplan*. You know I have had no higher education. But I am not unlearned in the Scriptures given by God; opinions which I cannot find clearly and distinctly recorded there, I may freely leave to the understanding of each individual. Dear Brother, deal with me in love as with a simple-minded person. I purposely seek to become so more and more. Children love most disingenuously.[4]

Ettwein did not have to depend entirely upon second-hand sources for his knowledge of this enterprise. The frequent journeys which he undertook on behalf of the Church, both in the North and the South, gave him opportunity to see the need of the heathen, the power of the Christian message, and the problems connected with the missionary undertaking. Two official visitations brought him into intimate contact with actual mission work.[5] The first took place in the fall of 1768, when he traveled to Friedenshütten, a congregation established three years before on the left bank of the Susquehanna, near the spot where the Wyalusing empties into it. And, having inspected this village, Ettwein went on to Schechschiquannunk, an Indian settlement some thirty miles further up stream, where a few Christian families had expressed their desire to be served by a missionary of their own. This whole journey took about a month and proved of utmost importance for Ettwein, helping him to understand both the strength and the weakness of the Moravian undertaking as it had hitherto been carried on. Many constructive suggestions which he was to reiterate during the following years, as well as certain criticisms that recur in his letters to the missionaries, grew out of observations made at this time.

His second official visitation occurred in 1772. It gave him even richer opportunity to become acquainted with the problems of practical missionary work. Ettwein left Bethlehem on the eighteenth of May, journeying first to Friedenshütten. There he made final arrangements for the exodus of the Christian congregation which had become necessary because the Indians no

[4] E.P. No. 978.

[5] See pages 341-357 for Ettwein's journal of his experiences on one such occasion. These reports were circulated throughout the Church and created widespread interest. Loretz wrote from Germany: "Your diary is being read with avidity in our congregations." E.P. No. 370.

longer felt secure in their possession of the land. He locked the doors of the empty church and mission house and resolutely led a company of two hundred and eleven souls through the wilderness to their temporary resting place, Langunto-Utenünk, on the east bank of the Beaver River in what is now Lawrence County, Pennsylvania. He himself pushed on with Zeisberger, Heckewelder, and a small company of Indians to the Tuscarawas district of Ohio, a region destined soon to become the promised land of the Moravian Indian mission. Here he viewed territory which Zeisberger had visited the year before, found it good, negotiated with the chiefs who ruled it, secured a considerable tract for the permanent possession of the Christian Indians, and then returned to Bethlehem on the twenty-fifth of September, via Langunto-Utenünk and Pittsburgh. To Ettwein this journey remained an unforgettable experience. Many years later, when he wrote a summary of his varied travels, he had this to say about it:

1772. In May I journeyed to Wialusing and from there to Muskingum with the Indian congregation. For eight weeks I did not come under a roof. Was delegate with the Indians in Gekelemuchpeking,[6] and came by way of Pitsburg, where I preached, back to Bethlehem on the twenty-sixth of September, twenty-six pounds lighter than when I left.[7]

Interesting and valuable relics of these visitations have come down to us in the shape of maps drawn by his hand. That of "Wialusing", or Friedenshütten,[8] is remarkable for being one of the few tinted maps showing a Moravian mission station and its environs; the different colors indicate different kinds of soil. Of Schönbrunn on the Muskingum, Ettwein made two drawings. One, evidently, must have been the preliminary sketch. It is important, in that it provides evidence of his habit of jotting down Indian words and names as he learned them, for the edge of this sheet contains such notes. They keep rather strange com-

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[6] Gekelemuchpeking lay on the north bank of the Tuscarawas river, near what is now Newcomerstown, in Tuscarawas County, Ohio. It was then the capital of the Delaware nation. Gekelemuchpeking signifies "still water"—See E. P. No. 1574.

[7] E.P. No. 110. The date of his return was the twenty-sixth of September, as established by his own journal and by the Bethlehem Diary.—In his autobiography, Ettwein states that these twenty-six pounds represented a quarter of his weight.

[8] E.P. No. 1372.

pany with six Hebrew words and their German equivalents.[9] The second represents Ettwein's finished map of Schönbrunn.[10] It was done so accurately, that the site of this Indian town could be reestablished by its means in recent years, enabling the State of Ohio to erect, at great expense, an exact replica of the place as an historical shrine. For Ettwein's drawing shows not merely the location of the buildings with measurements of streets and lots, but contains marginal notes giving the distances from the street endings to places easily distinguishable in the vicinity of the town. Note "A", for example, reads:

A second bank, 16 to 20 feet high; from this point SSW it is exactly 700 paces, about 140 rods, through flat bottom land, to the river; [or note] "B": From the end of this street, in a straight line, it is almost 770 paces to the little creek which flows from the N.W.[11]

Another souvenir of this journey in 1772, revealing what manner of man Ettwein was, is a bit of verse written by him when, spent by the day's fatigues, he grew inspired by the grandeur of a heavy thunder shower which broke suddenly upon the travellers.[12] And he seemed almost equally impressed by the utter lack of interest which his Indian companions manifested, for they stolidly went about their business of cutting poles, peeling bark, and building shelters right through the storm, though tall oaks bent like bushes about them.

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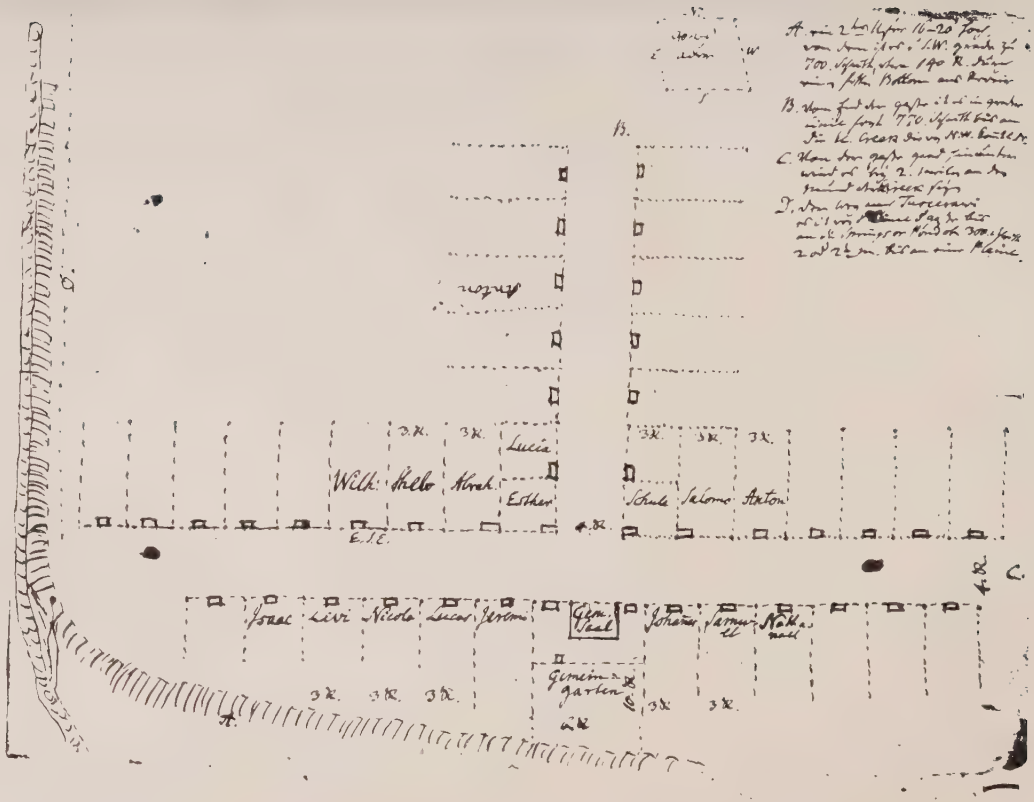
[9] A possible explanation for the presence of these Hebrew words is the fact that Ettwein, like so many in his day, held the theory that the North American Indians were descendants of the lost ten tribes. He may have wished to compare these Hebrew terms with their Indian equivalents. See E.P. No. 1370.

[10] Near New Philadelphia, Tuscarawas County, Ohio.

[11] See E.P. No. 1371.—Interestingly enough, the Indians themselves practised the art of map-making. In his account of his stay at Schönbrunn Ettwein refers to a map made by the Wyondots, showing the location of seventy Indian towns. Ettwein's sketch of Friedenshütten drew the anger of Achgohunt, chief of Schechschiquannunk, who charged him with having made it to facilitate the expropriation of Indian land. See E.P. No. 1241.

[12] "Die Wolken in sehr schnellem Lauf
Zogen wie grosse Berge auf,
Die Feuer-Schlangen hin und her,
Fuhr'n durch die Luft, u. creutz u. quer
Der Donner wie Canonen-Schall,
Dann wieder wie ein Wasser-fall
U. Regen machte solch Getös
Als ob die Elemente bös." E.P. No. 114.



ETTWEIN'S MAP OF SCHÖNBRUNN, OHIO

From the original in possession of the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.

Ettwein recognized the value of this direct contact with the work which it was his duty to help supervise. In 1770 he wrote to Zeisberger: "Gladly, gladly had I accompanied them [the Jungmanns[13]] to visit you, but I could get no hearing for my wish."[14] How carefully he prepared for his second visitation is shown by a sheet of notes.[15] He had jotted down the various subjects on it, which his journal afterward records his having discussed with missionaries and Indians during his stay in Langunto-Utenünk. Moreover, Ettwein preeminently had the vocation of an evangelist, as many incidents prove.[16] On the occasion of his visits among the Indians he neglected no opportunity to proclaim the truth as he believed it. Schmick[17] requested Ettwein to conduct nearly all the services, while he stayed in Friedenshütten; Ettwein gladly accepted and felt peculiarly happy in doing so.[18] When that visit came to an end, and Ettwein had to bid his white companions farewell, his journal records that he would have found it easier to go with his Brethren to the Ohio, than to return to Bethlehem. In 1773, he wrote to von Watteville:

If I were not too stiff and "gloomsy", I should like still to dedicate myself to the Indians; for I have real affection for them, and theirs

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[13] John George Jungmann, born at Hockenheim in the Palatinate, April 19, 1720, died at Bethlehem, July 17, 1808. Brought to America by his parents in 1731, he joined the Moravian Church against their will, entering mission service in 1770.

[14] E.P. No. 1240.

[15] Pro memoria für Br. Ettwein auf seiner Reise mit den Indianern—E.P. No. 1351.

[16] Thus, in 1791, Governor Mifflin invited Ettwein to meet three Seneca chiefs in his residence in Philadelphia, so that Ettwein might exert his influence over them for peace. He endeavored to do so, but also noted: "How greatly the Saviour rejoiced my heart on Epiphany, by letting me have friendly conversation with the 3 chiefs of the Seneca tribe and tell them about the wise men from the East . . . I really was like a child among its Christmas gifts. Whether much shall result from it or little, is God's responsibility." E.P. No. 910. In contrast to a long account of this interview. Ettwein has left only an incidental statement of his having called on the President and Lady Washington while in Philadelphia on this occasion. E.P. No. 1264.

[17] John Jacob Schmick, born at Königsberg in Prussia, Oct. 19, 1714, died at Lititz, Jan. 3, 1778. A Lutheran pastor, he united with the Moravian Church in Livonia in 1748. In 1751, he came to America in order to enter the Indian mission. He served in various stations from 1752 to 1777, though not continuously.

[18] E.P. No. 1212a.

has been a favorite cause with me ever since I reached America.[19] That he had been permitted to baptize a young Indian woman in Friedenshütten, remained a source of satisfaction to him as long as he lived.[20]

Though the work of the missionary gripped his heart, Ettwein cannot be charged with overestimating the progress achieved by the mission. As early as 1768 he wrote: "Experience, alas, teaches only too plainly that Satan can still frighten our poor Indian Brethren and Sisters."[21] On his return from Ohio, Ettwein confessed that better acquaintance with the converts compelled him to adopt a much less favorable conception of the Indian in general and of the Indian Church as an institution, than he had cherished formerly. For certain individuals among them, indeed, his respect and admiration had increased rather than diminished; there were true saints among them, he felt. Congregational matters, however, assuredly stood in need of improvement. He found much disorder tolerated even in Christian households. The wife cooked the food, but each member of the family ate it when and where he pleased, apparently with no thought of returning thanks. In some few cases, the head of a family would begin and close the day with the singing of a hymn in his home; otherwise Ettwein could notice no private devotions of any kind. Children did largely as they pleased, lacking all discipline. A Christian community, established for nearly a generation, ought, he thought, to be far more advanced in grace and knowledge. Furthermore, he found Indians all too prone to borrow freely from those laboring among them, and often individuals who were quite capable of repaying their debts neglected to do so. At least £60 were outstanding in private accounts with the Friedenshütten missionaries when that settlement had to be given up.[22] When, in the eighties, Ettwein appealed to Congress for support of the Moravian work, he admitted that the Church had only a small harvest of souls to show for forty years of labor among the Indians. In a letter dated as late as January 4, 1798, Ettwein judged it to be poor praise for

[19] E.P. No. 1213
[20] See E.P. No. 106.
[21] E.P. No. 842.
[22] E.P. No. 1146.

the Christian Indians that they had won so few of their heathen neighbors. Moreover, he realized quite well that there were limits to the dependability of the average Indian. When Congress agreed to supply the Indians in Ohio with a mill and turned to the Moravian authorities to secure a builder and a manager for it, he protested that such a venture would never pay for itself, contrary to the fond expectations of those pushing the scheme. Similarly, friendly representatives later suggested that it might facilitate action in Congress, should three leaders from among the Christian Indians personally apply for a grant of land in Ohio on behalf of the rest; Ettwein's comment was: "I dare not say what I thought of that."[23]

Ettwein demanded of men that they "bring forth fruit worthy of repentance." He reported to von Watteville:

Kilbuck[24] is an evil man and yet a friend of the Quakers. Many Indians who feel restless in their heathen state desire, as they say, also to hear about God and learn to pray, but are not willing to be baptized. If they were to become Quakers, they could then remain good heathen.[25]

This remark must not be taken merely as an evidence of denominationalism, for Ettwein was broad-minded enough to welcome missionary efforts on the part of all who stressed what he considered the heart of the Gospel. The following is one of many quotations indicating this:

We take great part and rejoice at the Endeavours of the different Christian Denominations, to propagate the Gospel and the Kingdom of Christ. If the fruit is but brought to Him, to whom it belongs, no matter, whether, the reapers be Moravians, Episcopalians, Presbiterians or Baptists, etc.[26]

Nor was it simply the result of emphasis upon the sacramental efficacy of baptism on his part. For he reported, on another occasion:

A friendly Mahikander [Mohican], who visited in Gnadenhütten, told the Indian Brethren that there were baptized persons among the Wiondots too, but that he had not observed any change in them, other than that they prayed industriously of a Sunday."[27]

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[23] E.P. No. 1222.
[24] John Killbuck, a Delaware chief and son of Netawatwes, head of the Delawares—the latter being also known as "King Newcomer."
[25] E.P. No. 1213.
[26] E.P. No. 1011.
[27] E.P. No. 861.

Rather, it was inspired by Ettwein's stress upon close and intimate personal intercourse with Christ, as the core of the Christian religion. Writing to his friend, Henry Laurens, on Sept. 11, 1784, Ettwein reported that 721 Indians had been baptized by the Moravians in the years 1740-1772. He added:

If our Missionaries could have baptized Indians, upon their bare asking for it, most of the Delawares & Munzys, would now ramble about baptized, so as many of the Mohoks do & walk in their vain conversation, received by Tradition from their Fathers. [The following sentence he later deleted] I had sometimes a notion to propose to begin upon a larger Scale, to make first many nominal Christians, civilized Heathens, and then to labour for Reality amongst them and their Children, but I know it would be a hard Task, for a Servant of Christ.[28]

This emphasis finds indirect expression, also, in his description of an old Moravian convert, Samuel, who had made his home among the Indians at Stockbridge.

He is a zealous witness there among the presbyt. Indians to the truth, that in the sacrifice of Jesus alone can be found grace and freedom—concerning which their Scottish missionary neither knows nor teaches aught. [Samuel had reported that a dying young Indian] sought with tears for the forgiveness of his sins and requested baptism, but Mr. Sergeant refused to baptize him, because he had not been sufficiently instructed.[29]

Ettwein refers to such a course with evident disapproval. He himself held a realistic and rather unusual definition of true conversion: it is found among those Indians, he said, who chop up whole tree trunks into firewood, whereas the heathen confine their labors to the branches or the tree tops! A Christian village may be known by the good fences that surround it. Moreover, he was impressed by the fact that the Friedenshütten Indians made hay six or seven miles up river and transported it by canoe for the use of their cattle. With regard to the final outcome of the work, Ettwein refused to yield to pessimism. Granting that Indian Christians must increasingly be exposed to the temptations which result from ever closer contact with unsympathetic whites, this would not necessarily spell defeat. He counted on the inner resources of Christian faith to withstand the most unfavorable environment.

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[28] E.P. No. 991.

[29] E.P. No. 927.

Teach the believers to observe all that Christ commanded His people! Teach them the use of spiritual weapons! Whoever is born of God, will keep himself; he is master of sin and the devil.[30]

As little did Ettwein let his enthusiasm for this cause rob him of his ability to view critically the men and women laboring with consecration in distant forest villages. His estimate of men was very keen, and he did not hesitate to express an opinion bluntly whenever he deemed this necessary or useful. One major weakness evidenced by the missionaries among the Indian was their lack of unity.[31] And since the Church, on principle, placed several missionaries in each station,[32] opportunities for misunderstanding multiplied. Again and again, Ettwein had to plead with them to keep peace and live in love among themselves, refraining from mutual suspicion, jealousy, and envy. Nor did he stop with exhortation: he made this a matter for special intercession. And his insistence on regular conferences, in which all the workers in a given station participated, was due in part to his assurance, that any frank discussion of their common work must make for amity among the workers. To some degree, of course, friction like this was due to men of totally different temperament being placed in the intimate contact which a close-knit organization demands. Ettwein admitted that the board could not wholly escape responsibility for this; but, as he had remarked in another connection, one does not learn to know men as well in the quiet, orderly life of the Brethren's House, as when they face the unpredictable demands of active mission service.[33] Ettwein was inclined to hope that in the end responsibility would bring out the best in a man. Thus, in the case of John Heckewelder, a recruit whose restive disposition had already caused the board anxiety, Ettwein wrote in 1774 to Zeisberger and Schmick:

I am instructed to report to you further in the name of the board with regard to the journey to the Cheerokees, that the Prov. H. C. [Provincial Helpers' Conference] would have no misgivings should you wish to send Bro. Heckewälder with a couple of Ind. Brethren thither

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30 E.P. No. 1357.

31 See, for example, E.P. Nos. 1042, 1093, 866a.

32 "We do not send a Schoolmaster before a number of baptized Ind. live together in one place. Our Saviour sent 2 and 2 of His disciples: one alone will not do." E.P. No. 1195.

33 See E.P. No. 849.

. . . Such a journey might be of great blessing to him. We, indeed, cannot pass judgment on him, since we have neither seen him nor spoken with him for a long time. But, unless he has deteriorated in these last two years, I should not hesitate to propose him for such an undertaking and to send him for a half a year among the Miamis, Twichtwees, or Cherokees, though not without* [the lot], of course. If we were to wait in every case for entirely competent and experienced men, we would not get far.[34]

Interestingly enough, Heckewelder, while continuing frequently to clash with his fellow workers and with Ettwein himself, justified the latter's trust in him by becoming the most outstanding missionary in the group associated with Zeisberger. An example of Ettwein's correspondence with this energetic, but hot tempered worker may be illuminating, the more so when one remembers that Ettwein himself shared the same characteristics to no small degree, so that Greek was writing to Greek. The following quotation is taken from a much later letter. Heckewelder was struggling to make a place ready in the Tuscarawas district for the return of the exiled Indian congregation. He had been given an assistant concerning whose unfitness he bitterly complained to members of the board, taxing them with failure to sympathize with him in his difficult task. Ettwein realized that this censure resulted largely from strain and illness and returned a soft answer. He regretted that apparently the board had made such a mistake, but pointed out that their choice had been limited and that they had selected the man who had appeared most suitable, adding:

A zealous, energetic steward can so easily be misled by his very fidelity to become impatient with his laborers. You will earn nobody's gratitude by working yourself to death or by maiming yourself. How desirable the trait: 'Soft is his word; yet it is heard' . . . Every beginning is hard: this is universally true and has always been so; moreover, men willing to break trails or to breach walls are all too rare in our Church today.[35]

Conscious of his responsibility for the future of the mission,

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[34] E.P. No. 1043a. In the event Zeisberger decided not to send Heckewelder on this journey, feeling the latter still lacked deep spiritual experience ["Umgang mit den Heiland"]. The Board did not press this matter, though it believed such a visit would be calculated to provide opportunity for just this. See E.P. No. 1042.

[35] E.P. No. 938.

Ettwein was ever on the watch for some man who could replace Zeisberger as leader of the whole undertaking, when the latter should have to give up his office. Frequent disappointments failed to discourage him in this search. He followed the records of each individual with keen interest, asking Zeisberger also to report to him concerning the abilities of his fellow workers.[36] Ettwein did not limit his interest to the welfare of any single worker, no matter how outstanding. He constantly appealed to the Church and to its friends for contributions towards the needs of all whom the Church had sent forth; he followed their tribulations with interest and sympathy, actually counting the days during which they were exiles from their home in Ohio;[37] he tried to bridge the gap of forest land between Bethlehem and their distant stations, faithfully sending them detailed news of the Church and its activity in all parts of the world;[38] he kept missionaries and evangelists posted concerning children whom they had placed in Bethlehem homes, because they still were too young to enter the church schools.[39] But the bond uniting the leader in the field and the leader at home was peculiarly tender and strong. Ettwein felt obliged to chide "Zeisberger's Susanna"[40] in a letter dated 1785, because she did not shield her husband more completely from excessive manual labor. He assured them

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[36] Ettwein's anxiety to discover new leadership grew out of his recognition of how nearly irreplaceable Zeisberger would be. "If only our little David [*i. e.* Zeisberger] could be at more places, or if we had more such Davids!" E.P. No. 1213. It was a colleague of Ettwein's who wrote in 1768: "Zeisberger is getting old and dull!" See letter of Nathanael Seidel to the Governing Board, Bethlehem, May 16, 1768. For those who know anything of the succeeding forty years and of the heroic labors Zeisberger rendered during that protracted period, this statement must stand as the Moravian classic of an inept judgment.

[37] A letter which he wrote them in 1783 opens with the comment that they had now "tarried in the wilderness over 1260 days."—See E.P. No. 1257.

[38] "And now I should like to tell you again what has happened here and in our other congregations; I should not like to forget anything which would cause you joy or sorrow to hear." E.P. No. 1256.

[39] "Mission agents, of whom I am one, count it their responsibility to watch faithfully over children like these, who have been dedicated to the Lord," he assured one distant father, adding, that his Rachel was more like a little countess than a pilgrim's child. E.P. No. 1133.

[40] Susan Lecron, born at Lancaster, Pa., Feb. 14, 1744, married to Zeisberger, June 4, 1781, at Lititz. After her husband's death she retired, living in the Widows' House at Bethlehem until her death on Sept. 8, 1824.

both that the board would greatly prefer to have Zeisberger pay to get all heavy household work done, if he could find no one willing to undertake it as a labor of love. The board would be responsible for all such expense in his case, wishing to make his declining days as easy as possible.

The years during which he administered the Indian mission brought Ettwein face to face with many practical problems. In his efforts to solve them, he made no small contribution to general mission policy and theory within the Moravian Church. The archives in Bethlehem contain an interesting document in which fundamental principles adopted by a conference of Moravian leaders, probably in 1755, are summarized.[41] The latter part of this is in Ettwein's hand; its very presence indicates that he did not purpose lightly to depart from essentials agreed upon as the result of experience of earlier years. As little, however, did he feel compelled to adhere slavishly to practices of which he could not approve. He recognized that regulations which were useful in Moravian settlement congregations might work more harm than good among Indian converts. For while it is true, that any good custom may ordinarily be commended to all men alike, yet Moravians should guard against investing with divine sanction any European Christian customs for which they cannot quote the express command of our Lord or of His apostles; such matters should not be considered universally compulsory. On occasion, he advised the missionaries to restrict the use of the lot in the field, though by no means urging its abolition.[42] Furthermore, Ettwein realized that proposals made by the board in

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[41] E.P. No. 1628.

[42] Thus Ettwein wrote: "Concerning the married estate among Indians, we hope soon to receive a communication from the U. Aelt. Conf. [Unity's Elders' Conference, or Governing Board], which we will pass on to you as soon as possible. We can commend good customs and praiseworthy human ordinances to other men; but we must beware not to burden them with things not expressly sanctioned by the Saviour and His apostles." E.P. No. 1041. Again: "Query: Should the lot be consulted with regard to Indians who desire to live in Christian settlements? Answr. This might be useful occasionally for the personal guidance of the missionaries, especially where specific doubts have arisen. But it is not to be made a general rule, nor has it been customary in our other mission fields; for we ought rather to use every means consistent with the character of the Gospel, to invite them to accept salvation." Minutes of the Provincial Helpers' Conference, June 30, 1775.

Bethlehem might at times not appear feasible in the light of fuller knowledge possessed by those who were active in the field, particularly in view of the changing conditions created by political events. Hence he left ultimate decisions in many matters to the workers themselves. The placing of individual missionaries, the number of stations to be maintained, the selection of sites for new centers, emergency action in view of the Indian wars, all belonged in this category. To reach an agreement on such points all the missionaries in any given locality should unite in a "conference for the whole." This gathering ought to be held monthly if possible, but certainly once a quarter. It is a fundamental Moravian rule, Ettwein maintained, that no one Brother should decide matters affecting the interests of the whole work or, indeed, of any single congregation within it. To guard further against autocratic action Ettwein provided that any missionary in the conference who felt unable to agree in a decision reached by the rest, could request that the proposal be submitted to the lot. Under such circumstances the others should acquiesce "in all simplicity," no matter how positive their views. And Ettwein himself made it a rule to accept decisions so arrived at concerning all matters within the scope of the missionaries, even where he personally inclined to some other course.

On the other hand, the determination of far reaching policies lay, as Ettwein recognized, with the Governing Board. He earnestly desired to have the Indian mission carried on in uniformity with the methods employed by the Church in other Fields.[43] This stress was an outgrowth of observations made by him during his official visitations. He had seen the regrettable effect of the lack of a common policy among missionaries with regard to discipline, the administration of the sacraments, and the admission of adherents. Some men endeavored to exert authority over details in the family life of their charges, others took a more restricted view of the pastoral office; some wore the surplice when officiating in the Lord's Supper, others not; some imposed

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[43] Ettwein noted that in the West Indies "none is to be baptized without the approbation of the Lord by the Lot, except on the Death-bed"; whereas in South Africa the missionaries baptized children only where both parents or at least the mother, had been admitted to this sacrament. See E.P. No. 1163.

a long trial upon professed converts before approaching the question of their admission to the Church, others were much less cautious in this; some welcomed those who requested to be baptized on their death beds, others refused them; some urged Christian Indians to dedicate their children to the Lord in baptism, others hesitated to admit infants to the sacrament. Moreover, the various missionaries differed widely in the positions they took when dealing with problems consequent upon polygamy among the heathen and when fostering a Christian concept of marriage. The mission authorities, Ettwein felt, shared the blame for the resulting confusion. They had failed to provide their agents with any official instruction concerning the method of dealing with these and other questions on which the teaching of the Scriptures is neither precise nor detailed. Practical problems of this nature ought to be taken up by the Governing Board so that a uniform, authoritative policy might be arrived at. Meantime, due to long delays often involved in submitting questions to the board in Europe, Bethlehem frequently had to give rulings in such matters, always, however, with the proviso that their decision was subject to final approval by the Governing Board.

The continual shifting of heathen tribes incident to the frequent wars and to the constant expansion of the colonial frontiers, caused Moravian missionary labor among the Indians in turn to assume a migratory character. Ettwein dwelt on the hardships which the converts suffered as a result of their being driven from place to place.[44] He testified that individual Indians were known to him who had made six or seven attempts to build a home in as many places, only to have to abandon each site, and with it the fruits of their industry.[45] Yet Ettwein recognized herein, too, a peculiar opportunity for witnessing to the gospel. The "candlestick" of the Lord had been caused to shine first in one part of the American wilderness, then in another; Moravians should thank God for this.[46] These frequent migrations, how-

[44] It happened on one occasion, at least, that the Christian Indians took the initiative. The mission authorities would have preferred to have had a small congregation remain in Langunto-Utenünk, in 1773, but the Indians were determined to get away from their drunken neighbors. See E.P. No. 860.

[45] See E.P. No. 980.

[46] Concerning Lichtenau, the third station in Ohio (founded in

ever, brought to the fore the question as to the policy to be followed in selecting sites for new mission stations. In general, three points were accepted as significant. 1. The deeper one pushed into Indian country, the better. In this way the converts would be removed from the corrupting influence of ungodly whites and could, at the same time, make their own example fruitful throughout a more extensive radius of heathen territory. 2. However, experience had taught, that the Christian community must also remain wholly separate from the heathen in their neighborhood so that the observance of Christian teachings and Christian customs might not bring inevitable collision with traditional Indian life. 3. Finally, the practical need of preserving communications with Bethlehem limited the remoteness of such centers. In harmony with these guiding principles, no white folk other than the mission staff were to be allowed to live in a Christian Indian village. Other considerations, of course, could not be forgotten either. Moravians had learned by bitter experience to avoid settling too near to the great trails followed by redmen on the war path. And as the Christians grew more and more to depend upon agriculture, adequate arable land became a *sine qua non* for any new location. Timber, also, took on new value in their eyes, sugar maples particularly. Where a choice between various equally favorable sites appeared difficult, there resort to the lot was inevitable. And they had found that it was preferable to have several small communities in the same general locality, rather than a single large center. For one thing, any large group of people which follows primitive methods of agriculture, requires a very considerable expanse of fertile soil. Then, too, game and fish never wholly lost their importance even for the Christian Indians during that period. And finally, problems of discipline could sometimes be solved by recommending that certain Indians move to an adjoining station. This was true particularly where tribal distinctions reasserted themselves within the Christian community or where polygamous marriages, which had been entered upon prior to conversion, continued to affect the conduct of those who had confessed faith. Ettwein also

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1776), Ettwein wrote to the missionaries: "The new place is perhaps intended to be rather a recruiting place and a net than an enclosed little garden." E.P. No. 866a.

advised missionaries who were asked to move from one station to another, to take with them little groups of native Christians, who had become specially useful to them in their work.[47]

For new ventures among tribes hitherto unreached, Ettwein was ever ready to lend encouragement; occasionally he even found himself obliged to insist upon them. In this connection he elaborated a policy reached by the General Synod of the Church, namely, that such a step should always be taken under auspices of the Christian Indians themselves. Thus Ettwein wrote on one occasion:

> We would suggest that, according to Indian custom, the Ind. congregation should instruct their messengers as to the message they are to carry. J. H. [John Heckewelder] would take it down in writing and repeat it, both while on the journey and when they reached their destination, in order to remind the "Speakers" of the wording. But the Ind. Brethren are to be the messengers and preachers wherever they go; and J. H. should keep a careful diary of what he sees and hears.[48]

In other ways, as well, Ettwein sought to emphasize the development of the native Christians.

> Missionaries should make it more their concern to secure helpers and ministers from among the Indians. I consider our Brethren overly cautious in making use of them. Surely they have reliable and gifted men and women, if only these were better acquainted with the Holy Scriptures and better instructed in the truths concerning salvation. The late disciple [*i. e.* Zinzendorf] made it a practice to give to recently converted Indians the offices of teachers, elders, etc. And though the event was not always what he desired, yet on the whole it accomplished more good than harm. I am not at all certain that it is advisable to go to the other extreme.[49]

Boards of "helpers," or elders, should be established in every station and be given as much responsibility as possible.[50] Indian

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[47] See E.P. No. 1045.

[48] E.P. No. 1043a. Converted Indians could preach with eloquence and power. The fame of one of them, Glikhikan, was so great, that the theory arose among the heathen, that he had been baptized with the heart and brains of a white missionary and owed his superior ability to this. See E.P. No. 861.

[49] E.P. No. 867.

[50] "Would it not be nice, if, when native helpers are appointed, they would be given the kiss of peace or the right hand of fellowship in the presence of the congregation, for their own blessing and as a certain token of authority?" Minutes of the Provincial Helpers' Conference, June 30, 1775; see also E.P. No. 1044.

women elevated to this office could be of special use to single missionaries in exercising pastoral care over their flock. Ettwein thought it necessary to remind Zeisberger and Edwards[51] of the "universal rule" that "no Brother is to have any private conversation with any Sister who is not his wife."[52] Indian Sisters chosen for office in the congregation should always accompany any other woman who desired to speak personally with the missionary. So convinced was Ettwein of the importance of avoiding any appearance of evil, that he repeatedly expressed the wish that Michael Jung,[53] one of the single missionaries, might marry an Indian convert so that the board could feel free to place him in charge of a separate station.[54]

Ettwein inclined to forgive much to the men who showed initiative and zeal. He was persuaded that the workers should be more aggressive in their methods, as a rule, and should take greater pains to impress favorably the heathen who were drawn by curiosity to visit their station. So, too, he believed that the missionaries ought to adopt a firmer attitude toward the chiefs. One should neither be too generous with promises nor too ready to comply with conditions dictated by the distrust of the heathen, but insist on freedom of action and conscience. On the other hand, Ettwein agreed with the Moravian policy of recognizing the chiefs as the constituted authorities of the territory which was to be evangelized. Missionaries were charged to show them

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[51] William Edwards, born near Brinkworth, Wiltshire, England, April 24, 1724, died at Goshen, Ohio, Oct. 8, 1801. Came to America in 1749. From 1776 to his death served as missionary to the Indians, faithfully following his charges as they were driven from place to place.

[52] See E.P. No. 1251.

[53] Michael Jung, born Jan. 5, 1743, at Engoldsheim, Alsace and died at Lititz, Dec. 13, 1826. In 1751 his parents brought him to this country, settling in Broadbay, Me. There he united with the Moravian Church. He entered mission service in 1780, laboring faithfully for thirty-three years in that calling. He retired in 1813.

[54] Thus, in 1789, he wrote for the information of General Synod: "Michael Jung was born in Jan. 43; has passed through much tribulation with the Indian congregation, and is wholly devoted to the cause. However, I cannot say to what extent he will master the language nor whether he could serve a small congregation independently. Should he take a good Indian Sister to wife, he could well be placed in some settled congregation, I hope, and be successful". E.P. No. 1374a. About a year later Ettwein suggested to Zeisberger: "Could not M. J. marry a pretty Indian Sister and with her serve some out-station?" E.P. No. 1246.

love and faithfulness; they should set an example in such matters to their converts and urge them specifically to do their share willingly in contributing to the upkeep to the chiefs' office.

Instances of the conversion of heathen chiefs also presented problems to the Moravians. Should such men be permitted to continue in office? Some workers believed this to be incompatible with the spirit and even the express precepts of Christ. Ettwein said the members of the Bethlehem board could accept neither the principle: "No chief can be converted", nor its correlate: "If a chief *is* converted, he must first lay down his office." Rather, they held, that if the Indians permitted a chief to continue to attend their council after he had adopted the Christian faith, the Brethren were not to insist on his giving up his place; he must be guided by his conscience. Such a case, the board felt, closely paralleled the conversion of any white magistrate. Missionaries ought to deal the more sympathetically with them and intercede for them the more earnestly, in view of the special temptations these men faced. Two duties, however, were to be impressed on such individuals: they must labor thenceforth for the general good, seeking ever to further the cause of love and peace; and they must count themselves as Brethren and all Christians their equals in respect to church affairs.[55]

With regard to questions that had arisen in connection with the administration of local stations, Ettwein reached the following decisions.[56] A uniform practice should be observed in the baptism of infants; he himself advocated that children of Christian Indians receive this sacrament when aged one year or less. Adult candidates for baptism should be passed on by the whole conference as a rule rather than by a single missionary—this in an effort to avoid errors of individual judgment. Concerning death-bed baptisms no general regulations could be established. Here the missionary must in each instance be guided by the

[55] See E.P. No. 1041. Bethlehem's decision concerning converted chiefs coincided with that arrived at independently by the Governing Board. Ettwein stated that Zeisberger agreed fully with this decision, but that Schmick would have preferred the Christian Indians to have had no dealings at all with the chiefs, which, Ettwein commented, was a rather impractical attitude. See E.P. No. 862.

[56] See Minutes of P. H. C. June 30, 1775 and E.P. No. 1505.

specific circumstances; however, baptisms of this kind were certainly not to be excluded on principle nor to be dealt with by referring them to the lot. When confronted with difficulties created by the widespread Indian practice of polygamy, however, Ettwein confessed himself to be at a loss to recommend any completely satisfactory policy. The institution of polygamy itself had constantly to be dealt with. What should be done in the case of an Indian who, when converted, had two or more wives, each of whom had lived in peace and love with him? What was his Christian duty? How should the missionary counsel him? Ettwein frankly admitted he could gain no full assurance on this subject. Now, since he habitually quoted Zinzendorf as an authority on other moot points, it would appear that Ettwein was not familiar with the latter's stand over against this confessedly vexing difficulty, with which Christian missionaries have often been confronted. Zinzendorf had taken a remarkably broad position here. He inclined to look upon polygamy as a condition resulting from the course of nature; one should not be too quick to condemn it. Indeed, he considered the Old Testament records to show that polygamy then had the approval of God, nor could he discover any direct prohibition of this practice in the New Testament. But the dissolution of the marriage bond was emphatically forbidden in it; and this, he argued, would apply to polygamous unions as truly as to monogamous. Therefore Zinzendorf would not permit converts to put away plural wives, though he believed that monogamy ought, in general, to be held up to them as the Christian ideal.[57]

Ettwein found that the institution of polygamy had also affected the Indians' attitude toward property. Husband and wife owned nothing in common and this resulted, too often, in wives esteeming husbands merely for the gifts they could bestow. Even though monogamy had been introduced into Christian villages, the custom for husband and wife to possess separate property had lingered on. Thus Ettwein quoted the case of Marcus in Friedenshütten, who had grown so old that the only way he could persuade a certain woman to become his wife

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[57] For these views of Zinzendorf, see Karl Miller in *200 Jahre Brüdermission*, vol I page 310, f.

was to give her his cow and horse. The wife, when dying, gave all that she owned to her mother, leaving husband and child destitute. The looseness of the marriage bond among heathen had bequeathed other special problems to the Christian communities. In this connection Ettwein quoted the example of a Brother Joseph, who, with his wife, came as a convert to the Moravians from the Susquehanna, only to meet among them a former wife and two of his children who had also accepted Christianity in the meantime. And there was Lydia, a "widow", married to Brother Augustus in Friedenshütten; she later encountered Jacob Gendaskund, a former husband and now a fellow member. Such instances could be multiplied. They impressed Ettwein with the desirability of having converts live in various separate stations, even though the whole Christian group might still be small.

Even Christian women, among the Indians, considered themselves free to marry again, as a matter of course, when deserted by their husbands. Ettwein had to deal with a case in point during one of his visitations, and summarily branded such marriage as adulterous. He found, indeed, that missionaries insisted on this viewpoint, as a rule, only with regard to marriages entered upon after baptism. Where a heathen couple applied for this sacrament, the practice was to question husband and wife separately, in order to learn whether they would be willing to remain faithful to each other until death. Should both agree, their union was publicly recognized in a meeting of the Married People as having divine sanction and a hymn of blessing was sung for them by the congregation. This course Ettwein approved.

Indeed, he saw that the regulations applying to marriage in Moravian settlement congregations could not be transferred bodily to the Indian villages, lest hypocrisy and deceit result. In his opinion, it would be better simply to instil among Indian converts the customary idea of marriage as taught, for example, by the Anglican Church, rather than to try to pass on to them the peculiarly Moravian concept of a hidden mystery underlying the married estate. Let missionaries be content to teach that marriage is of God, that Christians thus united are to be faithful to each other until death, and that in the exercise of conjugal

privileges, each individual should resort to prayer and seek to deal with the other as in the presence of God.

Ettwein noted another fact. Missionaries in his day no longer resorted to the lot for approval of marriage among their charges. They had been practically forced to this because so few marriageable Christians were available—baptized Indians being forbidden, as a matter of course, to wed those still unbaptized. And former missionaries had discovered a disconcerting habit among the converts: they blamed the missionary for any unsatisfactory spouse, where marriage had followed recourse to the lot!

Finally, marriage often created a practical difficulty of quite another kind. It ocurred frequently that married women were converted and baptized, whose husbands would neither leave them nor themselves become Christians. Ordinarily, such women strongly desired to live in the Christian village; their husbands, however, might easily become constant occasions for stumbling to the rest. This ought to be dealt with, Ettwein felt.[58]

In his attitude toward the traditional lore of the red man, Ettwein definitely reversed Zinzendorf's position. The latter had held that any interest in such secondary matters was unworthy of messengers charged with the momentous tidings of the Cross. In 1774, Ettwein wrote to the Indian congregation in Gnadenhütten, urging the converts to give full information on these subjects to their teachers. He pointed to the fact that the ancestors of their white missionaries had once been every whit as savage as the Indians, with beliefs and customs as far removed as theirs from the tenets of Christianity. Modern Europeans, however, possessed accurate knowledge of such things, thanks to contemporaneous Roman records. Then he continued:

White people as yet know little about the mode of life of the ancient Indians, their stories or ideas and traditions. This is so largely because as yet very few whites can speak with Indians regarding such matters. The Brethren have long desired to learn as much as possible about such things, so as to write them down and preserve them for our descendants and yours. Brother Schmick and Brother David [Zeisberger] have been asked to inquire about the ancient Indians' account of God and the beginning of all things; whether they knew anything of heaven or hell; what they knew of the first men; what they thought

[58] For Ettwein's views on this whole topic, see especially E.P. No. 856.

concerning the dead; what manner of customs or laws they observed on the occasion of birth, marriage, in war, in burial; what they thought of the sun, the moon, the stars, and such like. You can probably still remember what you heard from your parents as to which nation or tongue they counted as the oldest; but because you yourselves hold very much of this to be lies and untruths, you therefore do not give it any further thought. And it is not necessary for you to tell such things to your children. However, if you tell one of the Brethren all that you know concerning your ancestors' mode of life and thoughts and actions, so that he may write it down, we will be pleased. Later on, the stories of the Indians in S. America and of the Greenlanders can be compared with yours, and whatever is true extracted therefrom; for, after all, there usually is a little truth in every story.[59]

A direct sequel to this letter is a paper entitled: "*Some Remarks and Annotations Concerning the Traditions, Customs, Languages, etc., of the Indians in North America, from the Memoirs of the Rev. David Zeisberger, and other Missionaries of the United Brethren.*" Ettwein wrote it originally for the perusal of Arthur Lee[60] and then sent a copy of it to General Washington. This paper, together with the covering letter to Washington, dated Bethlehem, March 28, 1788, was published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in their Bulletin, vol. I., in 1845. The contents very closely follow the points of interest indicated by Ettwein in his letter to the Indians, as quoted above.[61]

Ettwein spurred the missionaries to activity in another field, too. If the Moravian undertaking of that period has made considerable contributions to our general knowledge of North American Indian dialects, these achievements were due, in no small measure, to his insistent emphasis upon the importance of the missionaries giving more attention to the mastery of the languages spoken by their charges. Again and again, he complained of their slow progress in this, nor did he hesitate to rebuke them vigorously for what he felt might easily become a fatal defect in their work. One of the unfavorable observations made by him

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[59] E.P. No. 964.

[60] See E.P. No. 1004: *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Soc.*, Vol. IV, page 65.

[61] Ettwein gave another proof of his interest in native traditions, by recording in his journals several which were told him by his travelling companions.

on the occasion of his first visitation, in 1768, was that the missionaries possessed so inadequate a knowledge of the Delaware language and this, though they had been laboring among this nation for so long a time. In Friedenshütten, missionaries were content to speak in Mohican, though perhaps only one fifth of the village used it as their mother tongue. True, a good proportion of the Delawares could make shift to understand what was said in Mohican; but the message lost its power for them, and hymns sung in a strange dialect failed to move them as they should. Other missionaries made it a practice to employ interpreters. This had proven even less satisfactory. The knowledge of English at the command of even the best of them did not extend to spiritual terms, nor could they adequately reproduce such expressions, when understood. As a result, utter nonsense was frequently taught or sung.[62] Fortunately, members of the congregation did not hesitate to manifest their perplexity when some statement was too obviously mistranslated. On his return from his second visitation. Ettwein came to the conclusion that the immature state of congregational life which he had observed among the Indians could be accounted for, in large measure, by their imperfect knowledge of Scripture. This, in turn, could be ascribed to the lack of Indian terms wherewith to reproduce so many Christian ideas. He remarked that the apostles, even where they labored among heathen, had had to do with civilized folk, whose language contained phraseology adequate to describe both deity and the forms of worship due to Him.[63]

Quite a number of Zeisberger's Delaware translations seem to have been made at the direct suggestion of Ettwein.[64] In

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[62] By way of a rather desperate remedy for this condition, Ettwein appears to have considered for a time urging the missionaries to conduct the liturgical portion of the service in German. He pointed to the Catholic use of Latin in support of his suggestion. E.P. No. 370.

[63] Of course, Ettwein was not the first Moravian administrator to recognize how essential linguistic attainments are for successful mission work. Peter Boehler, himself a graduate of Jena university and one who valued the discipline of higher education, made the suggestion, that the Church should send young men for whom the best training had been made available, to live in the mission stations. Their special task would consist in learning the Indian language and in occupying themselves with translation.

[64] Zeisberger had, however, produced important linguistic studies even prior to this, during his stay among the tribes of the Six Nations.

1785, the latter wrote to Zeisberger concerning the need for a Delaware version of the harmony of the gospels, particularly of that portion treating of the Saviour's Passion. Useful also, he thought, would be a Delaware book dealing with the doctrine of Jesus and His apostles. Ettwein pointed out that individuals could still be found among the converts who understood English well enough to be of some help to the missionaries in this. For the printing of any such work Ettwein made himself personally responsible. And he actively encouraged Zeisberger in undertaking another significant translation into Delaware, a hymnal in that tongue which appeared in 1803. For years, Ettwein had urged that such a book be put into the hands of the Christian Indians.[65] In 1790, Gottlob Sensemann[66] was sent out to Lake Erie by the board for the primary purpose of helping in translation work. In January 1798, Ettwein felt obliged to criticize him strongly for having neglected this commission. Ettwein complained that as yet no sign had been forthcoming of the planned harmony of the four gospels, though Sensemann had spent seven years among the Indians; nor had a Delaware-English dictionary been produced which should represent a

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Chief of these were his *Lexicon of the German and Onondaga languages* and his *Grammar of the Onondaga Language.*

[65] In 1796, Zeisberger appealed to Ettwein for help in selecting material suitable for the continuation of Loskiel's History, which he had been asked by the latter to supply. (E.P. No. 764.) There also appears to be reason to believe that Ettwein may have composed the dedicatory introduction for the hymnal though, as published, this is signed by Zeisberger and dated, "Goshen, River Muskingum, September 30th, 1802"—at which time Bishop Ettwein was already deceased. Virtually the same text is to be found in an English document dated, "Fairfield on Thames R. in Upper Canada, Aug. 24, 1797," and entitled *Project zu einer kurzen Dedication des Ind. Gesangbuchs.* This manuscript which originally belonged to the congregational archives in Gnadenhütten, Ohio, is written in Ettwein's hand and bears a correction by Zeisberger in the margin. It is difficult to conceive of any reason why Zeisberger should have corrected and kept a copy of this kind, if the introduction had originally been his own. The most plausible explanation for the presence of this document is that Zeisberger had asked Ettwein to help him in writing a dedication for this book and then corrected and used Ettwein's draft. Dr. William Schwarze, archivist of the Moravian Church, suggests that Zeisberger may well have done this because he did not feel at home in the use of English.

[66] Gottlob Sensemann, himself the son of a missionary, was born at Bethlehem, Oct. 9, 1745 and died in New Fairfield, Canada, Jan. 4, 1800. He served the Church both in the home congregations and as a missionary to the Indians, particularly in Ohio and in Canada.

lasting achievement of the mission to that nation.[67] In another letter, sent during the summer of the same year, Ettwein wrote: If you spend as much time as you can in gathering material for a permanent contribution in the field of language, we shall be very pleased. I have given Brother Mortimer[68] what I had gathered for a dictionary.[69] This last reference indicates that Ettwein was not content merely to play the part of a critic. He seems to have taken delight in acquiring such stock of Indian words as his limited opportunities allowed. His habit of jotting down new terms as he caught them has been referred to above. When writing to the Christians, he occasionally interspersed the English text with familiar Indian phrases. The account which he forwarded to General Washington ends with a collection of Indian words: "English-Maqua- Delaware- and Mahikan" terms are quoted in parallel columns in the first part, "the Mahikan" equivalents being omitted in the second. And treasured in the Bethlehem archives is a Delaware-German phrase-book in Ettwein's hand; it contains eighty close-written pages, beginning with the sentence, "I love you", and ending with the quotation, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world."[70]

Ettwein also stressed the usefulness of mission schools for Indian children in promoting translation work in the future. In general, more should be done for the education of their converts by the missionaries; that is a theme recurring constantly in his correspondence with them. Herein, again, Ettwein did not mince words where he felt a man had failed in his duty or neglected so important an opportunity. Moreover, he bitterly regretted the long interruption of schooling consequent upon the destruction of Gnadenhütten[71] and the unsettled conditions

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[67] E.P. No. 1357.

[68] Benjamin Mortimer, born in Drummorgan, Ireland, Nov. 26, 1767 and died in New York City, Feb. 10, 1834. He came to America in 1791 and was appointed teacher in Nazareth Hall. He accepted a call to become Zeisberger's assistant in 1798 and served as a missionary until 1812. He then was appointed pastor of the New York congregation and retired in that city in 1829.

[69] E.P. No. 1055.

[70] E.P. No. 1368.

[71] Gnadenhütten, Ohio, a Christian Indian town on the Tuscarawas in Tuscarawas County. The place was destroyed in 1782 but a new town by the same name occupies its site.

of the mission during its long years of exile. He stated it as his opinion, that all Indian children, particularly boys between seven and fourteen, should attend school, so that none among them might reach manhood without being able to read and write. One of his proposals to the General Synod of 1789 contemplated establishing a free boarding school for Indian boys. He believed that either the State of Pennsylvania or Congress could be persuaded to endow such an institution with land, or to make a yearly grant in its support.

The achievement, however, which undoubtedly gave Ettwein himself deepest satisfaction was the founding, in 1787, of the *Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen.* Indeed, he was quite carried away by his enthusiasm for this society, once it had come into being. He envisioned a future, when the *Society for Propagating the Gospel* would be active among multitudes of Indians along the inland seas and the great rivers of America.[72] He suggested that all property owned by any Moravian congregation in this country ought to be deeded over to it for nominal ownership—an idea which, apparently, met with little favor among congregational leaders! The memoirs of every Moravian who had been enrolled in this society should, Ettwein maintained, make specific mention of the fact, as of an honorable distinction. He noted that thirty-three members died during the first six years of the society's existence and added:

> These will rejoice on each occasion when one of these Indians and Negroes, who have been converted to Christ through the instrumentality of the Brethren, comes before the throne of the Lamb.[73]

And in view of the rich influence exercised by this society for more than two hundred years, both within the Church and beyond its borders, one feels that Ettwein had good reason for his enthusiasm. Two manuscripts are particularly important in establishing the fact that the *Society for Propagating the Gospel* owes its origin to Bishop Ettwein. The first is a paper in his hand, entitled *Proposal of a Society for preaching the Gospel*

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[72] See E.P. No. 1465

[73] See *Unmasgeblicher Vorschlag zur Societäts Versammlung;* this manuscript bears the date of 1798, but its contents indicate that it must have been written in 1793. E.P. No. 1382.

among the Indians in N. America.[74] This contains provisions which were later adopted with little more than verbal changes as the constitution of the society. The second document is Ettwein's copy of a letter he wrote to his friend, L. Weiss, in Philadelphia, asking him for his opinion with regard to the founding of such an association.[75] In it Ettwein stated that the idea of creating the *Society for Propagating the Gospel* and the plan to seek legal incorporation for it were his own; indeed, when he made these proposals to his colleagues, they asked him to consult with the Governing Board "because it was something quite novel."[76] This reaction could have been caused only by the suggestion that the planned association be legally incorporated. For a society which sought to promote the missionary activity of the Church in Moravian circles was no new thing.[77] Three chief considerations impelled Ettwein to organize and incorporate the *Society for Propagating the Gospel.* He himself stated them as follows:

My reasons are: A certain religious party [the Anglican] is not friendly towards our missions. More than 40 years ago, they dragged our missionaries into prison to New Milford, in Connecticut, and Newyork. Our having been recognized in England as an episcopal Church has given our missons a sanction in English possessions; that is ended now. Should a governor or commandant be unfriendly to our mission in the new States or the regions where our missionaries are at work, he might say, "How do you come here? Who has given you authority to live among the Indians, to preach?" etc. etc.

If, however, an individual should possess a certificate of his calling, issued by a legal corporation in one of the United States, their jealousy would not venture to attack him so readily as it would, if he had nothing to show.

A publicly authorized corporation would be more likely to receive help from other [*i. e.* non-Moravian] persons who favor such enterprizes,

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[74] E.P. No. 1373.

[75] See also E.P. No. 898.

[76] E.P. No. 1222.

[77] Spangenberg had founded one in 1745, which has the distinction of being the first organization of its kind in Amercia. He had named it *The Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel* and had modelled it upon the pattern of an organization by the same name, inaugurated by him in London, in the year 1741. The American *Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel* disintegrated after Spangenberg had left for Europe, in 1762.

than would private parties active in this way.[78]

In case Congress should now desire to promise the 3 settlements on the Muskingum to the Indian Church, would it not more readily entrust them to such a corporation than to a group of private persons?[79]

In his report to the General Synod of 1789, Ettwein stated that he had never intended the *Society for Propagating the Gospel* to take over the administration of the Indian mission or to supplant the authorities constituted by the Church for the carrying on of such activity. Specifically, the call and the sending out of missionaries were to remain under direct control of the Church boards; ultimate financial responsibility was to continue to be theirs as well. As heretofore, the Governing Board would give instructions to the Helpers' Conference for the Whole in America, with which the members of this body should faithfully comply. However, since these individuals would serve at the same time as directors of the *Society for Propagating the Gospel,* their actions would automatically acquire a legal sanction which they hitherto had lacked. Though the *Society for Propagating the Gospel* would certainly use its income for the benefit of the common task, other Church-wide efforts to gather funds for the Indian mission should be continued as had been customary.

Closely related to his initiative in establishing this society were Ettwein's efforts to place the Indian mission upon a firmer financial basis, by securing grants of land from the government for its support. One must bear in mind that during the whole of his leadership, the Moravian Church had been hampered by the enormous debt which it had inherited from a period when Zinzendorf had wielded autocratic control over its policies.[80]

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[78] In acknowledging a gift of £50 from the London *Moravian Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel,* Ettwein wrote: "Our Society probably outnumbers yours but is not as strong. Most of us are quite poor Brethren. But I look upon the whole institution as a collection bag provided with bells. It is to afford opportunity and to encourage others to donate something also. Its own membership will contribute little more than they did formerly through the channel of the regular collections." E.P. No. 1215a.

[79] E.P. No. 1222.

[80] Even though Zinzendorf's direct heirs generously renounced their claim to any considerable proportion of his estates, so that the income from them could be used to help meet the financial crisis, the Church owed $773,162 at Zinzendorf's death in 1760. By various measures, including heroic sacrifice on the part of many members, the last instalment of this amount was paid in 1801.

The American branch of the Unity was not only forced early to become self-supporting, but was expected to contribute, year by year as its means allowed, towards wiping out the deficit. American leaders were aware that lack of funds had crippled the Indian mission, yet their membership could not contribute more liberally to its support.[81]

Despite the inadequacy of the means available for this work, Ettwein set his face resolutely against permitting missionaries to carry on barter with the Indians for the sake of securing additional income for the mission.

To carry on trade with Indians, [he wrote] would hurt our glorying in Christ, and would be contrary to Spangenberg's *Declaration*. Indians borrow all too readily. If one would refuse them, they would resent it; to accommodate them and then insist on repayment would bring about the same result. Traders then would do all in their power to cross us. As it is, everyone knows that we seek the Indians, not their property.[82]

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[81] Moravian missionaries still served without stated salary in Ettwein's day; otherwise this little communion could not have financed this enterprise at all. Yet the Church recognized its responsibility to do what it might to make life somewhat easier for its representatives, particularly for missionaries among the Indians who—unlike men stationed in the West Indies, for example—had practically no opportunity of earning money. In 1773, Ettwein estimated that food furnished missionaries among the Indians cost on an average of £4 to £5 per person per year. This amount would supply each with 100 lbs of flour, 12 lbs of rice, 12 lbs of coffee, 1 lb of tea, and ¾ of a b. [bushel?] of salt. In addition, the Church undertook to provide necessary articles of clothing, blankets, etc.—a list being made up by the missionaries annually for this purpose. This item amounted to about £10 [per person?]. Experience proved it to be more economical to send these supplies direct from Bethlehem, though freight from Lancaster to Pittsburg cost thirty to forty shillings per 100 lbs. Converts fetched the goods from that point. Journeys involved the heaviest outlays for the mission, particularly in the case of married couples. Mission houses were erected by missionaries themselves with the aid of the Indians; only nails and glass needed to be secured by the board. Churches, too, were built by the natives, who even furnished nails, glass, bells, etc. Superannuated missionaries, their widows, and their children, all became charges of the Church and were not permitted to suffer want, though no specified allowances were paid them. See E.P. No. 850a, 858, 1012, and 1011.—In 1798, Ettwein estimated the cost of the Indian mission to be about £100 a year. This figure, however, appears to be an error. In writing to Thomas Mifflin in 1781, Ettwein said: "The Brethren e'er now laid out many a year in the support of [Indian] missions more than 500£. They had above 20. years continually from 12. to 20. persons in service of the Indians." E.P. No. 1029.

[82] E.P. No. 858. In this connection, compare Ettwein's letter to Dr. Wm. Linn, page 375.

But Ettwein did not hesitate to appeal to the political authorities for help in this situation. He felt justified in asking the government to further a worthy Christian enterprise within its borders, since it would share in the beneficent results. Winning savages to civilization through Christianity appeared the most hopeful method of improving relations between them and their white neighbors; only thus could lasting peace be established on the borders. Of course, Ettwein knew only too well that an acute shortage of money paralyzed the newly established bodies politic also; therefore, he asked for the gift of another commodity to which there seemed scarcely a limit at that time, namely land.[83] He made formal application to the Legislature of Pennsylvania; there followed protracted negotiations, and, in 1790, the Moravian Church received the grant of two tracts of land of 2500 acres each. One was situated at Ville Joye on Conneaught Creek, extending thence to Lake Erie, the other on Venango or French Creek, near Presque Isle. It had been the hope of the Moravian authorities to locate a permanent mission station in this part of Pennsylvania to serve as the center for extensive work in that region. But the rapid spread of white settlers and continuous friction between them and adjoining Indian tribes rendered the converts unwilling to occupy either of these sites.

In addition to the land thus received as an outright grant, Ettwein persuaded the *Society for Propagating the Gospel* to purchase 582 acres from the State and tried to induce them also to buy the claims of two loyal Moravians in that district, George Huber and Jacob Eyerly.[84] Ettwein had prevailed upon them

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[83] By 1790, the Moravian missionary undertaking evidently enjoyed a higher reputation in government circles than it had in 1772, when the church authorities had vainly tried to obtain indemnification from the State on behalf of the Christian Indians for improvements made by them at Wyalusing. A memorandum of Ettwein's reads: "When I solicited for Wialusing, for the Benefit of the Christian Indians, John Pemberton told me, that John Penn, had said: The Moravians did not care for the Indians, they wanted only land for themselves! This illiberal Reflection made me desist from all further application at that Time. J. E." E.P. No. 1350.—In another place Ettwein commented on Penn's charge as follows: "It seems, that all who, constrained by the Love of Christ, undertake or do anything uncommon, must be counted Fools or Knaves, by such who know nothing of true Religion." E.P. No. 947.

[84] Huber, born, 1760, in Nazareth, died, 1813, in Bethlehem. Blacksmith by trade. Appointed Bethlehem's second postmaster, in 1801. John Jacob

to agree to sell their land at the price they had paid for it, *i. e.*, $1.00 an acre, plus interest. He had learned that this property contained the only favorable mill-site to be found in a wide area, and confidently expected its value to mount rapidly, as a result. But his colleagues were unwilling to take this action, and, when resort was had to the lot, it also negatived this purchase. Indeed, Ettwein's interest, during these years, in the acquirement of land became a source of sorrow to him. In a formal statement, he complained that his motives had been wholly misjudged by others. Men accused him of being a land speculator and pointed to his example, in order to justify other members of the Church in carrying on practices which he deeply detested: gambling in soldiers' warrants, or purchasing shares in bridges and mines with the intent of reaping profit by their quick resale.[85] Eventually, Eyerly and Huber gave a part of their land to the society as a free gift. In doing so, they were motivated not only by their regard for Ettwein but also by the fact that they had secured titles to their claims in advance of other individuals, because of their connection with the society; and this had immediately increased the value of their property. Time verified Ettwein's acumen. The Pennsylvania holdings of the *Society for Propagating the Gospel* were sold for $40,000.00 in the year 1849.[86]

Ettwein was instrumental in securing an even more important grant from the Federal Government. During the years 1785 and

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Eyerly, born 1757 in Nazareth and died there in 1800. Eyerly had been a smith and was elected a member of the Penn'a Assembly in 1789, despite objections on the part of the church leaders. However, he proved of great help to the Church in this capacity, being very active in getting the Assembly to take favorable action on the grant. Later he selected and surveyed the land at the request of the society. Eyerly advised it to buy some lots in Presque Isle, as well; for he believed a city would soon spring up there. Erie stands on the spot today. See E.P. 191-198, 262, 909, 1468, 1523, 1646.

[85] Ettwein did admit, however: "Speculators abound now; I, too, am one of them for the good of the Society." E.P. No. 910.—"I heartily hate land speculation for the sake of acquiring wealth, nor have I sought for one foot of it for myself or my children. But I would rejoice, could I gain much of it for the Society's future use or profit, since I anticipate an active future for it. Look upon what I have written in that light. David gathered in preparation for the building of the temple over a long period of time." E.P. No. 1113.

[86] See Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz' article entitled *A Historical Sketch of the Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen, 1787 to 1887* in the *Proceedings* of the society for 1887, page 27.

1798, both in person and by letter, he carried on lengthy negotiations with various government officials.[87] These culminated on Feb. 24, 1798, when President John Adams signed a patent, whereby 12,000 acres of land in Ohio were given to the *Society for Propagating the Gospel,* to hold and use in trust for their Indian converts. Congress had been induced to authorize this grant, chiefly as an act of restitution for wanton damage done by a body of American militia in connection with the massacre at Gnadenhütten, Ohio, on March 8, 1782.[88] In petitioning for the Ohio grant, Ettwein had made the following points. The missionaries and the mission board had as much right to claim indemnification for their losses, as had other settlers who fled to Canada after their property had been destroyed by border raids; certain of these individuals had already received public land to compensate them for their loss. The Christian Indians themselves could advance even stronger claims. The soil which they had formerly occupied in Ohio, was theirs by double right; it had been ceded to them by the natives who originally held it, and this claim had been reenforced by their cultivating and im-

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[87] For details see E.P. Nos. 882, 893, 921, 924, 1101, 1104, and 1384-1448.

[88] For Ettwein's account of this tragedy, see pages 361–364.

Though Ettwein had been intensely stirred by this massacre, he strove to be just in his view of it. He recognized that the militia had gotten out of hand, and that the American authorities were not directly responsible. Ettwein reported to the Governing Board that most of the townspeople in Pittsburg, and particularly the officers of the regular army, were indignant at the deed. Col. Gibson had said the militia had killed innocent folk and the best friends of the Colonies, and threatened to treat all who had participated in the slaughter as murderers. Thereupon anonymous advertisements appeared, nailed to trees, offering a large reward for this officer, dead or alive. For a part of the public inclined to approve the deed, in view of the horrors suffered by many settlers at the hands of savage Indians. Ettwein regretted that accounts of the massacre had been forwarded to Europe by individual members of the Bethlehem board, before any reliable report had reached them concerning it. His comment is noteworthy: "That we should tell and write each other things that are common report, cannot do much harm. But reports sent overseas should have a better foundation. That some part of our brown Brethren and Sisters have been butchered, I do not doubt, and trust this shall minister to the glory of God and of the Lamb. The number of martyrs is not yet full. Who knows, who may yet belong thereto. To meet such a death is to be accorded grace and honor; I am assured that these did not suffer on account of evil done by them." E.P. No. 1152.—For an expression of condemnation of the Gnadenhütten massacre by an American officer, see the *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol. IX, page 629.

PENNSYLVANIA, ſſ.

THOMAS MIFFLIN,

GOVERNOR of the Commonwealth of **Pennſylvania**,

To all to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, **Greeting:**

KNOW YE, That the Right Reverend John Ettwein,

whoſe name is ſubſcribed to the Inſtrument of Writing hereto annexed, was, at the time of ſubſcribing the ſame, and now is Biſhop of the Epiſcopal Church of United Brethren and Preſident of the Incorporated Society of the United Brethren for propagating the Goſpel among the Heathen

in the ſaid Commonwealth [redacted]: And full Faith and Credit is and ought to be given to him accordingly.

GIVEN under my Hand, and the Great Seal of the State, at Philadelphia, this 29th Day of June, in the Year of our **Lord** One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Ninety-ſix, and of the Commonwealth the Twentieth.

By the Governor,

James Trimble
Deputy Sec'y

CERTIFICATE ISSUED TO ETTWEIN BY GOVERNOR THOMAS MIFFLIN
From the original in possession of the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.

proving it. Yet they did not petition for restitution on the basis of their rights, they were content to ask Congress to restore their land as a favor to them.

Ettwein devoted much thought to the best method of carrying out the spirit of this trust committed by Congress to the *Society for Propagating the Gospel,* and his final recommendations were accepted by the society. The majority of the Christian Indians were living in Canada at that time. Their missionaries notified them of this action by the U. S. government, which assured them permanent possession of their former land.[89] However, only those were invited to return and make Ohio their home who would be willing to renounce the roving habits of their race and support themselves by tilling the soil. Any Indian who agreed to do this and to abide by such rules as the congregation might adopt from time to time, would be given as much land as he would need for homes, for farms, for meadows, and for a supply of firewood. It was to be understood at the outset, however, that no Indian was to own the soil outright, nor might he sell it or bequeath it to strangers. The land was to be held by the society in perpetuity for the benefit of the whole Christian community. Those among them, or among their children, who proved unamenable to the rules which seemed good to the rest, should forfeit all claim to the land. This condition was to apply even to the descendants of certain leading Indians whom Congress particularly named in the grant, because, by their outstanding friendship for the U. S., they had merited special reward. On the other hand, the society would undertake to provide the community with churches

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[89] The missionaries themselves hesitated to urge those under their charge to return to their former home. Zeisberger wrote: "The Indians could not be persuaded to believe that it would be well for them to return to live among white people or near them; they would have to bear many false accusations and be exposed to all manner of temptations." Ettwein replied: "Nowhere will they find a place where they will be safe from false accusations, evil report, temptations from the devil and temptations from his ministers." To the Governing Board Ettwein reported: "It appears they have all grown too feeble and old to make a new start. I have been shocked by this deposition of theirs against themselves. The board believed it to be high time to come to their help, particularly, to plan to send them a Brother who is a scholar." E.P. No. 923a.—The outcome proved Zeisberger's judgment right in this case, and Ettwein's wrong. But the correspondence shows the energy of character of this seventy-seven year old man.

and school buildings, and would be responsible for the support of the ministers and teachers who served them.

Ettwein estimated that from two thousand to three thousand acres would suffice to accommodate all the Indians who might avail themselves of this offer. He planned to have them settle on the former Schönbrunn tract and allotted four thousand acres for this purpose. The rest of the grant was to be divided into lots of one hundred and fifty acres each and leased to members or friends of the Moravian Church. Only carefully chosen settlers should be elligible, for the Indians living in their vicinity would look to them to set a consistent Christian example in all things. To such men, land would be offered either under the terms of a perpetual agreement—in which case provision should be made for stated, periodical advances in rentals—or as straight leases, running for twenty-one years. The income accruing from this source would pay for the cost of the mission in Ohio; it should also be drawn upon to reimburse both the missionaries and the society for extraordinary expenses incurred as a result of the war, the Gnadenhütten tragedy, and the years of exile.[90] The Indian Christians, so Ettwein reports, had been despoiled of more than $10,000.00 worth of hogs, cattle, and household goods, when they were uprooted from their town in the Tuscarawas valley. The losses of the missionaries on the same occasion, he estimated at £1248/10/0.[91]

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[90] Among the many financial statements belonging to this period is one in which Ettwein lists the regular expenses of the mission from July 1, 1782 to Aug. 18, 1797 as £2294/12/2¼; extra disbursements necessitated by the captivity of the Indian congregation as £120/2/4; expenses connected with securing the land grant in Ohio as £391/0/10, or a total of £2805/15/4¼. The rate of exchange then prevailing was one pound at $2.67. E.P. No. 1358.

[91] Included in this latter amount is an itemized list of articles, valued at £448/10/0, which were lost at Schönbrunn alone, and which George Jungmann, one of the missionaries, submitted to Ettwein at the latter's request. It is herewith reproduced as a sample of the extent to which Moravian evangelization among the Indians also spread the implements of civilization through the wilderness.

"Schönbrunn.

Cattle lost on the Muskingum		
2 cows, 1 ox and 2 calves, or five head	£ 20/0	$25
2 horses, with saddles for man and woman, bridles, collar and harness	40/0	$50
16 pigs	10/0	
some twenty and more hens	10	

Taking possession of the Ohio grant proved a far more expensive proceeding than anyone had anticipated. Not only did the first cost of necessary articles exceed all estimates, but every pound of supplies had to be packed on horseback over the long and arduous trail from Pittsburgh; damage by rain or by treacherous fords was considerable. Outlays kept mounting, causing Ettwein no little anxiety. Yet he seems to have felt that this was to be his last major effort; and he threw into it all the reserves of his failing strength, never doubting that the reestablishment of the mission in this valley of sacred memories would usher in a new day for it. The outcome proved a sad commentary on how completely even a capable man can err in reading the future. By 1822, the whole Moravian Church was inclined to agree with the opinion voiced by one who had shared in the attempt to recommence the work in Ohio: that the acceptance by the *Society for Propagating the Gospel* of this grant in trust for the Indians had been a grave mistake in policy, and that the failure of the new undertaking there must be considered inevitable under the circumstances of the grant, and not ascribable to the shortcomings of the workers.[92] The expense of the mission still far exceeded its income; the proximity of a frontier civilization militated against spiritual growth among the converts; and experience proved that the Moravian Indians were still dissatisfied

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Tools, 1 saw (for boards)	4/0	$10
1 cross saw	3/0	
Axes, broad hatchets, hand saws, borers, and knives	20/0	
Tools for cabinet makers and carpenters [Kiefer] too numerous to mention	20/0	
The wagon chain	5/0	
Kettles for boiling sugar	36/0	
Kitchen ware, namely bowls, plates, dish pan, pans, spoons etc	15/0	
2 bells—communion vessels, with surplice and wine	20/0	
Tea service, tea pot, coffee, sugar and tea, namely that which belonged to Zeisberger and Jungmann (Priv.) [Note by Ettwein]	15/0	
Besides furniture, such as beds, clothing, and linen	60/0	
Similar items belonging to Zeisberger (with a clock that strikes) [Note by Ettwein]	60/0	
Fruits of fields and gardens, Indian corn, potatoes, cabbage, carrots, etc.	150/0	
	£448/10"	

E.P. No. 1362.

[92] See E.P. No. 1541.

to support themselves by agriculture alone. In April, 1824, the *Society for Propagating the Gospel* retroceded this grant to the Federal Government.

Yet it would be entirely injudicious to let the failure of a particular policy cause us to underestimate the importance of this work with which Ettwein had been so prominently identified for many years. Despite heartbreaking difficulties, a whole nation had been influenced by the gospel. Moreover, Moravian missions among the Indians served other than religious interests. It is noteworthy that heathen Indian chiefs struggled among themselves to secure the presence of the missionaries and to win the allegiance of the Christian Indians. Thus the Susquehanna savages threatened the converts with violence, should they attempt to leave for Ohio. Indians living along the Tioga, vainly tried to persuade them to go no further and grieved when they "did not accept the bed offered them."[93] Even after the migration, his former Indian neighbors agitated to have Zeisberger recalled, so that heathen from the Ohio region might be drawn to the Susquehanna, through their desire to hear the gospel. The chief living at Gekelemuchpechünk was anxious to have the Christians settle near him. He offered them a site some twenty miles from the heathen town:

> so that those who would like to hear may visit them, and that those who were drunk might sober up before they reached the place, should they ever run there.[94]

Admittedly, the motives of such Indians were not always the highest. In times of starvation they knew that there would be corn in Egypt. Missionaries would then report the heathen flocking to their stations, first to buy and later to beg food. And on such occasions the converts themselves suffered hunger because they had helped others too liberally.[95] But higher motives were not lacking. Netawatwes,[96] chief of the Delawares, himself a heathen, was so anxious to have the children of his tribe brought up under Christian influence, that he labored with his braves

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[93] E.P. No. 891a.

[94] E.P. No. 1040.

[95] Bethlehem Diary, Sept. 29, 75.

[96] See Note No. 24.

in Lichtenau,[97] building houses, erecting fences, clearing plantations for the Christians.[98] Just as remarkable was the effort of various governmental authorities to keep the Christian congregations within the borders of their land. New York sought to win the Moravian Indians back from Pennsylvania; Pennsylvania protested against their migration into Ohio. Even the British in Canada were loath to give the converts up after they had sought temporary asylum there; only by having the Christian Indians leave in small groups, slipping over the border a few families at a time, was it possible to carry out their return at all. Thinking men, whether their skin was red or white, alike realized that the Moravian Indians stood as a buffer between the two races. These Indians made a real contribution to the cause of common humanity and the development of civilization in this land during frontier days. In other definite ways the mission made its influence felt. The records of treaties between whites and Indians often include reference to the presence of Christian Indians, who served as interpreters, and, occasionally, of missionaries invited to act as counsellors. That a large section of the Delaware nation was persuaded by the mediation of missionaries and converts alike, to keep peace with the colonials during critical days in the Revolutionary War, is an historically established fact.[99] As a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly put it: "One of these Indians is more protection than two soldiers."[100]

The extent to which this factor may have contributed to the ultimate outcome of the struggle, on the other hand, must be largely a matter of opinion. Yet any careful reading of the records will leave one with a very vivid impression of the tireless efforts made by the Moravian authorities to further the cause of peace in the land. Herein Ettwein was indefatigable. He strongly

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[97] The third Moravian mission station in Ohio, on the east bank of the Muskingum, below Coshocton, Coshocton Co., Ohio. It was begun at the urgent request of Netawatwes.

[98] Bethlehem Diary, July 12, 76.

[99] For records of other services rendered by the Moravian Indians to the American cause, see *Pennsylvania Archives*,, vol. VIII pages 551 and 766; vol. IX page 161; *Colonial Records—Minutes of the Provincial Council*, vol. VIII pages 125-128; *American Archives*, column 481.

[100] E.P. No. 1252.

urged the missionaries and their charges not to take part in war, even though their attitude prove unpopular and involve suffering. He was quick to discern and rebuke any deviation from this policy.[101] He pleaded with American government officials not to force the Delawares to choose between the warring whites. He addressed solemn messages to the savage Indians, appealing to them to keep the peace, while ascribing the sufferings of their race to their unwillingness generally to receive the gospel. He negotiated actively and successfully with three chiefs, Cornplanter, Big Tree, and Half Town, to dissuade the Senecas from joining in the war for the Northwest Territory.

A remarkable feature of Moravian work in its heydey was the way Indians of various nations associated with each other in the new Christian communities. This came about chiefly as a result of the unifying influence of the common faith they had learned to profess. But their spiritual leaders also purposely fostered this tendency; Ettwein himself instructed them that Christian love required the individual to forget nationality and the ties of blood, the better to cling to the people of God.[102] He did it, however, with a realistic understanding that one should not push such a development too rapidly, desirable though it might be. On occasion, he agreed to let Mohican converts form a separate community in Ohio for the time being.[103] Yet Christianity proved a quiet, powerful leaven among the Christian Indians, breaking down divisions that had crippled progress on this continent. Typical of the attitude taken by these Indians was the answer sent by the Christian Mohicans to Gen. Johnson when he invited them to return to New York to live with their kinfolk: they preferred, they said, to remain with the Christian Delawares, in order to be able to bring up their children in the faith. Similarly, the Mingue and Onondaga members of the new community disregarded the message of their chiefs, when these ordered them to return. And when the section of the Delaware nation that had finally been drawn into the war, retreated to the Wabash and sent repeated summons to the Moravian Indians

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[101] See, for example, E.P. Nos. 981, 1208, 1209, 1210.

[102] E.P. No. 112, entry of May 8.

[103] E.P. No. 115, entry of Sept. 7; See page 353.

to come thither, these replied that chiefs who ran away had forfeited all claim on them. Indians themselves quite generally recognized that the Christian faith inevitably produced a breaking down of tribal distinctions, a new grouping along broader lines. When application was made for a missionary by a group of families in Schechschichquannunk, Zeisberger inquired what reactions such a step would have among the rest who did not intend to give up their heathen dances and similar practices. Pointing to the other side of the river an Indian gave answer:

> The four or five huts across the run there did so recently; but the chief, who is of our opinion, has forbidden this. They seem to us like an eagle on a branch near the stream, which, when it sees someone coming, flies away. So they will move away, one after another, if the word of God comes to us.[104]

By the end of the century the disintegration of old customs and loyalties among the Indians had gone so far that a veteran missionary was filled with alarm. Not so Ettwein. Even to old age he maintained the optimism of vigorous faith: the disturbed state among the Indian races, the breaking down of the authority of the chiefs, and the mingling of the tribes, what are these but so many opportunities for God to extend the Kingdom of Christ among them?[105]

"It is a pity that we are so old and shall not see much of the glories which are to follow on our tribulations and suffering," thus wrote Ettwein to Zeisberger in 1791.[106] In the same letter he had made enthusiastic report concerning recent favorable developments and the growth of the mission which he envisioned as a consequence of them. The Pennsylvania Assembly had granted the *Society for Propagating the Gospel* two tracts of 2,500 acres each in the northern part of the State; there a Christian center was to be located which should send the light of the gospel among the northern tribes. Some converts were to remain in Canada, in order to serve the Chippewas. Others were to settle on the Wabash to win for Christ the nations of the West.

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[104] E.P. No. 112, entry of May 12.

[105] E.P. No. 1357.

[106] E.P. No. 1248.

The Brethren Marshall and Benzien[107] had found a favorable spot in South Carolina, whence the word of life could be carried to the Indians of the South. Thus hopefully Ettwein faced the future. Inscrutable providence had determined that those very days of sorrow and trial, which Zeisberger and Ettwein had shared, should prove to have been also the glorious days of the Moravian mission among the Indians. But Bishop Ettwein was mercifully spared the disillusionment of his dream, so that, with hope undiminished, a good and faithful servant might enter the joy of his Lord.

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[107] Leaders of the Moravian Church in North Carolina. Christian Lewis Benzien, born in London, July 19, 1753, and died in Salem, Nov. 13, 1811. When less than a year old, he was brought to America by his parents. He attended the schools of the Church in Nazareth and Bethlehem, and entered its service as a bookkeeper in Bethlehem in 1769. In 1781 he was called to Wachovia, and, in 1785, elected a member of the Provincial Helpers' Conference in the South; he held this office until his death.

PART II

Selections from Ettwein's Papers

INTRODUCTION
TO
ETTWEIN'S "A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE DISTURBANCES IN AMERICA AND OF THE BRETHREN'S CONDUCT AND SUFFERING IN THIS CONNECTION."

The importance to the Moravian Church of Ettwein's intercourse with the leaders of the Revolution has been more generally recognized than that of his contributions in other fields. For this reason, Ettwein's own account of his activities throughout the earlier part of the Revolutionary War is reproduced in the following pages.[1] During those years the Brethren faced two pressing issues: what position should they, as Christians, take over against war, and to which cause did they owe loyalty and support in this particular struggle, to England's or to that of the Colonies?

Contrary to the opinion often expressed, Moravians then were far from being unanimous in condemning warfare of any kind, despite the fact that the Church had formally applied to Parliament, in 1749, for exemption from military service. Ettwein himself expressly stated this.[2] For example, he left the following

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[1] Presumably, Bishop John Frederick Reichel took the original manuscript with him to Herrnhut, in 1781, on his return from his official visitation in America. It is preserved in the Herrnhut archives. The Library of Congress possesses a photostatic reproduction of it which was placed at the disposal of the writer of this book by the courtesy of the Librarian. The translation appearing in this volume, however, was made from a copy of Ettwein's account in the Bethlehem archives. All significant material contained in the original and omitted in the Bethlehem copy has been reproduced in the form of footnotes. It should also be noted that passages are to be found in the Bethlehem copy which are lacking in the Herrnhut original; no doubt Ettwein was mindful of his advice to other American Moravians and purposely deleted opinions which might do harm to the Church, should they fall into the hands of unsympathetic readers. *The Moravian* (official periodical of the Church), in the years, 1889 and 1890, published under the title, *Bethlehem and The Moravians in the Revolution*, the translation of a somewhat abbreviated copy of this same manuscript.

[2] Yet in a letter to F. A. Mühlenberg (1792?), he wrote: "Since the time of John Huss [The United Brethren] have kept that religious principle" [*i. e.* refusal to bear arms]. E.P. No. 1065.

record of an interview he had with Alexander Hamilton when the latter visited Bethlehem in May, 1791:

> Mr. Hamilton asked me about our principles with regard to war and asked whether it was a point of Moravian doctrine to do no military service. I told him it was not a point of doctrine . . . Ever since Hus' day, the Brethren separated themselves from the others who waged war under Zisca and agreed to make one of their principles or rules not to fight with carnal weapons but with prayer . . . We could not say that each and every member belonging to the Moravian Church has such scruples of conscience. A soldier could become and remain a member.[3]

Thus, too, the Bethlehem Diary records on a certain occasion,[4] that two Moravian militia men from Lebanon, who were passing through Bethlehem with their company, were permitted to partake of communion there.

The issue involved was a very old one. The original founders of the Unity of the Brethren in Bohemia had, indeed, been of one mind in this. Influenced largely by the views of Peter of Chelcic,[5] they held all true followers of Christ to be bound by the six "least" commandments recorded in the fifth chapter of Matthew. Consequently, members of their fellowship were forbidden to participate in the activities of civil government: they were neither to take oath, nor act as jurymen or judges, nor serve in the army. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, the practical consequences of so extreme a position led to dissatisfaction and tension within the Church. Two parties formed: the smaller, conservative group wanting to preserve these principles as a sine qua non of membership, the larger, liberal group

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[3] E.P. No. 1472. The Bethlehem Diary contains the following reference to Alexander Hamilton's visit in a note appended to the record for the month of May, 1791. It reads: "Mr. Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States visited in Bethlehem with his family . . . Brother Ettwein struck up such an acquaintanceship with the former [Hamilton] that one may expect it to prove of advantage for the work of the Brethren among the Indians. Mr. Hamilton sought to inform himself thoroughly about all manner of things connected with our customs and developments."

[4] Aug. 16, 1776.

[5] Peter of Chelcic, a self-educated layman, was one of the most original thinkers produced by Bohemia in this period. His writings were widely read during the second half of the fifteenth century. Though his views show similarity to those of Wyclif at some points, there is no historical evidence that Peter leaned directly on him.

preferring to leave such questions to the conscience of the individual. By 1495 the Church had so fully adopted the view of the liberals that the "smaller party" disowned all further connection with it.[6] From that time on, the Moravian Church no longer formally condemned war as such nor forbade its membership to bear arms. It taught—and still teaches—that in any given case each individual must determine the right or wrong of such action according to the prompting of his own conscience. Many Moravians did not scruple to fight in the religious wars which followed the Reformation. Yet others disapproved.

The descendants of the Ancient Unity who fled to Herrnhut and there became instrumental in the renewal of the Moravian Church decidedly inclined to pacifism. They declared:

> We do not wish to be considered Hussites and Waldensians, because they resorted to arms against their constituted authorities, which step we hold to be wrong in matters of religion.[7]

Indeed, there were those in the Renewed Church—and Ettwein belonged to them—who believed that the appeal to force by the Protestants of Bohemia had been the chief cause of their annihilation.

> For — years it has been a firm principle of the Brethren's Church, [he wrote,] not to bear arms. This caused it to suffer considerable hardship; but those who departed from this course gained nothing thereby. The chief persecutions of the Protestants in Austria, etc., resulted from the fact that they took up arms, so that they were accused of having made common cause with the enemies of their country.[8]

In the early days of Herrnhut, its residents apparently avoided military service by hiring substitutes. Zinzendorf sanctioned this practice, for one of the statutes which he drew up to regulate the conduct of the immigrants in Herrnhut read:

> In addition to their obligation to join with the efforts of the congregation in Bertholsdorff in certain general matters—such as the erection of church edifices and the payment of money for soldiers—none of the inhabitants shall refuse to pay taxes on land and occupations;

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[6] For details of this controversy and schism see Edmund de Schweinitz: *The History of the Church Known as the Unitas Fratrum*, pages 172-178, and Joseph Müller: *Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder*, vol. I, pages 233-268.

[7] *Büdingische Sammlung*, vol. I, pages 13 and 14.

[8] E.P. No. 1273.

and each shall do his part in contributing to all the needs of the Herrnhuth congregation.[9]

Ettwein refers to specific instances of Zinzendorf's complying with the demand of the Saxon government for troops from his estate.[10] Yet when Zinzendorf sought for legal recognition of the Moravian Church throughout Great Britain and its dominions, in 1749, he petitioned Parliament explicitly to exempt from the general provisions of British law those members of the Church who for reasons of conscience were unwilling to bear arms or take an oath. Exemption on these specific points was sought primarily as the most practical way of getting from Parliament a ruling on the status of the Moravian Church as a whole;[11] but the petitioners were undoubtedly true to the sentiment of the great majority of their membership in selecting these particular privileges for the subject of their immediate appeal.

Frontier conditions in America and the violence suffered by settlers at the hands of the Indians gave new urgency to the question whether true Christians might not at times be justified in taking up arms in self defense. Spangenberg spoke for the Church in this. "We are not warlike, nor are we like Quakers",[12] thus he summed up the attitude of the Bethlehemites.[13] He him-

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[9] *Büdingische Sammlung*, vol. III, page 9.

[10] See page 323.

[11] See Bishop Hamilton's monograph on *The Recognition of the Unitas Fratrum as an Old Episcopal Church by the Parliament*, etc., in *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, 1925.

[12] Cited in Levering: *A History of Bethlehem, Pa.*, page 321.

[13] In a letter to the church in New York City, Spangenberg wrote: ". . . We are of Opinion, that princes and Governors ought to protect their subjects. They are Servants of God, and the Sword is given to them by a superior Power, who is the King of Kings and the Lord of Lords. This Sword given to them, they have not in vain, but they are to punish the wicked Ones, and to save the Innocents. It is therefore not only permitted unto them to oppose & punish all such, as will hurt, kill, steal &ca. but it is their Duty to do so, and if they neglect this their office, they will be answerable for it to their Master.

A Minister of the Gospel is a Sheep sent among the Wolves, who is to be prudent like a Serpent, and harmless like a Dove. His Arms are not Carnal but Spiritual; and he conquers by no other Weapons, than by the Blood of the Lamb, by the Sword of the Gospel, by Faith in Christ, by Prayers and Tears &ca. If One smites him on the right Cheek, he is to turn him the other also. If One takes away his Coat, he is to give him also his Cloak. Conf. 2 Cor. 6, v. 1-10. Such a One, if he would handle Weapons becoming a Soldier, He would shew his Ignorance of his Commission.

self criticized the Pennsylvania government in a letter to Zinzendorf as follows:

Since the 15th of Oct., when the first killing and burning took place at Shomokin, fear and terror prevail everywhere. The whole land is exposed; farms lie scattered about; nowhere are there border forts. The Quakers have ruled the country up till now according to their particular doctrines of belief. What our Saviour said to His disciples about not resisting evil, they have applied to the authorities. And the words of the apostle: "it is the minister of God and beareth not the sword in vain", etc., have been forgotten.[14]

Spangenberg urged the defense of the country upon Philadelphia and took all steps in his own power to safeguard Bethlehem from attack by the Indians.[15]

His influence was still too strong among American Moravians in the seventies for them to condemn the bearing of arms indiscriminately or unanimously. Ettwein personally, however, took a pretty thoroughly pacifistic position, as the papers that follow will show. In his opinion resort to arms ordinarily was equivalent to murder and paying for a substitute in the militia merely hiring a murderer instead of being one. Concerning Mora-

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A common Man, such as they call a Layman, if he hath Wife & Children, he is to provide for his Family, and to protect them against Mischief. It would not be right in him, to see his wife ravished by a wicked Fellow, and to sit still at it. It would be very wrong in him, if wicked Wretches should fall upon his Children, and he would be indolent and patient at the murdering of them. If it is right in a Pastor to kill rather the Wolf, than to see the Lambs killed, it is certainly right in a Father, to stand up for the Life of his Children." . . . See the *Bethlehem Diary*, Dec. 1755, appendix 11. This letter is quoted in full in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. VIII, pages 236-239, though evidently from a source which differs in unimportant details from the copy referred to above.

[14] Dec. 9, 1755, quoted by Erbe: *Bethlehem, Pa.*, page 111.

[15] "Tho' we conscientiously scruple to be engaged in Wars as Soldiers, to follow after Enemies, to take away Lives, &ca., adhering to the very same Sentiments we have professed before the British Parliament, when we obtained an Act securing us against being forced to bear Arms, or go to War, &ca.

Yet in the last troublesome time, when we were in Danger of being fallen upon by the murdering Indians, we have kept strict Watch, and have secured several of our Settlements with Stocadoes, &ca., which have been hitherto so successful for us and our Neighbours, as to prevent a Surprize and Bloodshedding on both sides." Petition for appointment of officers for the Moravian civil guard—Bethlehem, March 14, 1757. See *Colonial Records, Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, vol. VII, pages 459-460. For further details, see Levering: *A History of Bethlehem*, pages 328-330.

vians of his day who did not hesitate to enlist in the armed forces he once wrote: "There always will be people who bear the name of Brethren, without being any."[16] Yet as a rule his position was that outlined in the following note which he wrote to John Jacob Fries:

Your inquiry as to what answer should be given to some Brethren in Philad. regarding the signing of the [articles of] Association, struck us as somewhat strange.

For our principles are well known. And we have urged our Brethren everywhere not to mix in any party quarrels nor to act in any way against their conscience. Whoever has done so despite this, him we refer to our d. Lord; we do not wish to pass judgment in matters of conscience. Whoso truly belongs to Christ will keep His word and seek to preserve himself unspotted from the world; but if there be any to whom He has not given this spirit, we would not tie fruit on such a tree. Whoso was able hitherto to drill with a calm heart, why should such an one be unable to sign the rules and regulations for the Associators? Every intelligent person realizes, of course, that those who drill must conform to a manual of arms. "To whom ye present yourselves as servants, his servants ye are." [Rom. 6:16]

Whoever, through love or respect for a teaching of our Saviour or of His apostles, sincerely scruples to do aught that other folk do, him we must encourage to be true to his conviction and to suffer everything rather than to deviate from that course.[17]

With regard to this whole question, Ettwein sought to be wise rather than merely consistent. Though he strongly condemned any individual members of the Church who allowed themselves to be conscripted contrary to the promptings of their conscience or who hired substitutes in their stead, yet he wrote:

I also make an essential distinction between the action of the lord of some manor or the proprietor of some estate and an individual Brother who is summoned either to serve in person or to provide a substitute; I do not consider the former action to be contrary to freedom of conscience.[18]

And he recognized that self defense might be permissable on the part of individuals who lived in savage and lawless parts where protection by constituted civil authorities could not be hoped for. Thus he wrote:

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[16] E.P. No. 1273.

[17] E.P. No. 726.

[18] E.P. No. 941; see pages 323-326 where this letter is reproduced in full.

But I have heard sensible Brethren make a distinction between self defense against robbers and murderers, Indians and wild animals, since none of these recognize or are subject to any regulation or authority, and self defense against lawful power, where constituted authority exists. And should anyone, on the basis of such a distinction, not scruple to shoot an individual who intends to commit murder—be he black, brown, or white—while cherishing scruples to go to war, far be it from me to judge his conscience. Let him rather yield life and person, than act against his conviction.

Our Brethren in the land of Labrador have built a kind of fort and are provided with arms. And they might use them, were they attacked by the Eskimos. But that does not prove that they do not have scruples against military service. No constituted authority exists to protect them; and the preparations for self defense will suffice, perhaps, to cause the savages to respect them. I do not believe they would defend themselves against a Christian power."[19]

But, granting that a resort to arms might be justified under special circumstances, could Moravians with a clear conscience unite in an effort to overthrow British rule in America? Here Ettwein repeatedly made the following points: 1. The Moravians in Europe were loyal to England; should American Moravians espouse the cause of independence, cordial relations with the home church would hardly be possible. 2. By such an act the missionary work of the Church would be impeded in British dominions. 3. Continued immigration of Moravians from Europe seemed vital to the progress of the Church in this land. Could this continue, were Americans to renounce England, seeing that a large majority of such recruits would have to pass through British possessions? 4. Could Moravians in honor renounce allegiance to a king who had granted them liberty of worship and conscience? Could they take up arms against the very land which had exempted them from the duty of military service?[20]

Differences of opinion were even more pronounced among American Moravians on this point than on the right or wrong of war in the abstract. It appeared that in Bethlehem and Nazareth the Brethren were almost unanimously opposed to abjuring England, whereas in Lititz and the town and country congregations many Moravians sided with the Colonies from the outset of the struggle. The church leaders finally ruled that

[19] E.P. No. 1273.
[20] See especially E.P. Nos. 1273 and 1298.

in the settlement congregations no member would be allowed to participate in the communion who had taken the oath required by the Test Act. However, even there men do not seem to have been expelled from the Church on that account. In other congregations, communions were at times omitted, when feeling ran too high on this question. Of course, as time passed and pressure both of public opinion and of disabilities resulting from the law increased, an even larger number of Brethren risked the displeasure of the Church and openly cast their lot with the Colonials.

Ettwein has left a rather interesting statement of his own position in this:

I consider that it would be contrary to my civic duty to recognize the present [1777] Assembly, (which has been elected quasi privately by a few of its own creatures) as the supreme authority of the country and the representatives of the people.

Yet I also hold that I would act contrary to the country and its peace, were I to oppose them or try to propagate my opinions.

It is my duty, therefore, to remain quiet and to evade the issue as long as I may. But if they drag me into the open by my hair, then the truth must be found in my mouth, come what will.

I have heard that the famous jurist, Mr. Lock, having enumerated all possible cases in which a constitution or the supreme law of the state may be repudiated and replaced by another, affirmed: that in that event, each individual became a free and independent agent with the right to choose what form of government he would accept and that, as long as he would refuse consent to a new constitution, the latter could have no power over him.

From which I conclude that according to the laws of nature and of society, I and the Brethren have now become free and independent, should we consider ourselves absolved from our former allegiance.[21]

In the end, Ettwein came to accept the new order with good grace. Doubtless, the favors shown the Moravian Church by prominent Americans cannot have failed to have influenced him in this.[22] Moreover, he had a high regard for Presidents Washing-

[21] E.P. No. 1580.

[22] A concrete example is recorded by him in a letter written to Bishop Gregor in 1792. Ettwein told of his negotiations with Congress in connection with the Ohio grant and of the help of various military men who had learned to know him in Bethlehem during the course of the war. He referred in particular to Mr. Trumbull of Connecticut, then Speaker. The latter had been Gen. Washington's secretary when he visited Bethlehem in 1782. Mr. Trumbull recognized Ettwein, who

ton and Adams, as the following quotation shows. In 1795, Ettwein wrote:

> You probably hear quite enough about the uproar and chatter against the Jay Treaty, perhaps more than in vindication of it. It is shameful how the good Washington is being treated in this connection . . . A quiet onlooker may well tremble for the country's tranquillity and precious peace; the few friends of the French (Jacobites), act as though inflamed by hell and spit out fire in order to set all ablaze.[23]

and, in 1798:

> Hitherto our prayer has been that God may guard England and all that is connected with her; for we in America would not be able to survive, were she to fall. Moreover, were France and the American States to come to an open break, a civil war would be inevitable here; we have all too much material for it here. That God has graciously given these States a wise, Christian President, [*i. e.* J. Adams] removes much of my fear.[24]

Ettwein added that Washington had not been ashamed to point to the Redeemer in a public proclamation. A little later he wrote: "President J. A. is a worthy, sagacious man, as was his predecessor."[25]

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that a few Moravian leaders had been convinced of the justice of the American cause from the very outset of the Revolution. At first their views did not have much weight with Ettwein. But there is reason to believe that as time passed and the position of the Colonials improved, the arguments of these friends of his impressed him.[26] Nor should he be

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had accompanied the distinguished party to New Jersey on that occasion, though the years had made such a change in Mr. Trumbull himself, that Ettwein said he would not have known him. E.P. No. 918.

[23] E.P. No. 981.

[24] E.P. No. 925.

[25] E.P. No. 925a.

[26] Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz wrote as follows in his short biography of John Ettwein (*Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, vol. II, page 258): "When we take into consideration that Ettwein, especially in the beginning of the Revolution, was a pronounced Tory, his success in such negotiations [*i. e.* with the American leaders] is all the more surprising. On one occasion, when the news of a victory gained by the British reached Bethlehem, he gave thanks to God in a public service. For this act he was arrested and imprisoned at Easton, although only for a few hours. It was mainly through the influence of John Christian Alexander de Schweinitz, the Administrator at Bethlehem, that he was, at last, induced to accept the independence of the Colonies as a fact against which the Moravian Church ought not

charged with inconsistency in this or with mere opportunism. Repeatedly Ettwein urged the members of his Church to remain faithful to constituted authority—"and were it a Delaware chief"[27]—because of its divine sanction. He maintained that American Moravians were bound to continue loyal subjects of King George until the event should prove that God Himself had severed America from England.[28] Since he believed implicitly that God overrules the events of history, Ettwein, the one-time tory, became persuaded in the end that allegiance to the new republic represented his religious duty.

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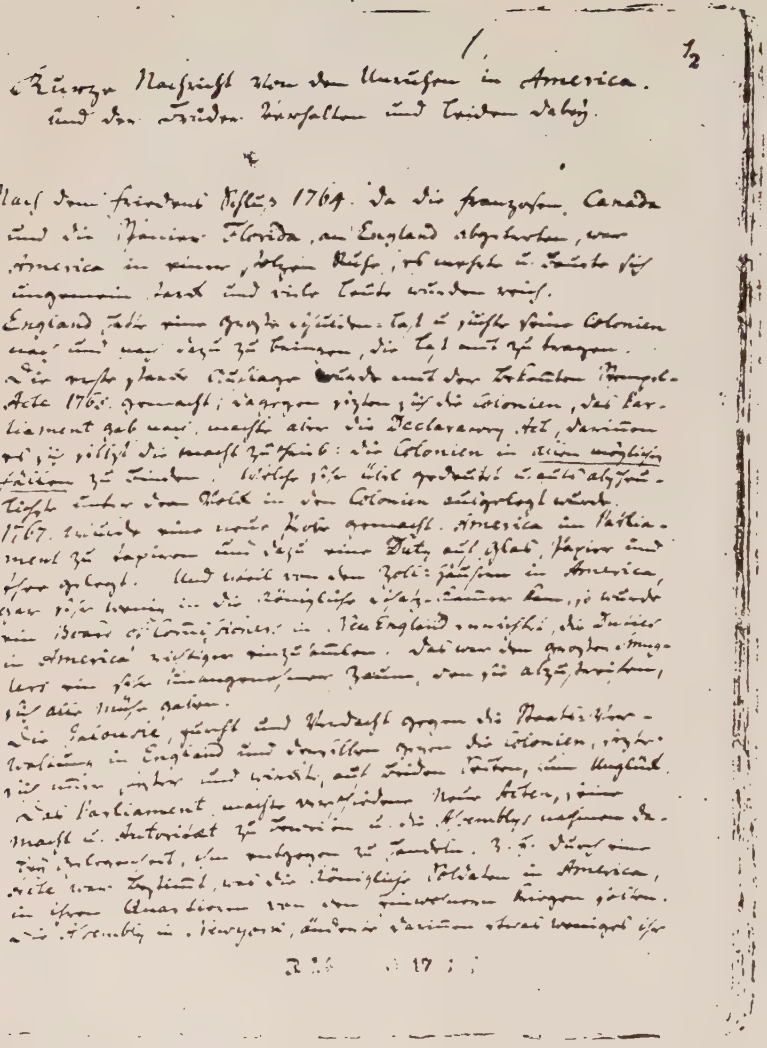
to protest." The writer of this history has not been able to discover the authority for this item. It may have been taken from a private letter of J. C. A. de Schweinitz.

[27] E.P. No. 1273.

[28] See, for instance, the reference on page 326.



FIRST PAGE OF ETTWEIN'S ACCOUNT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

From a photostat in possession of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE DISTURBANCES IN AMERICA AND OF THE BRETHREN'S CONDUCT AND SUFFERING IN THIS CONNECTION.

BY J. ETTWEIN

[Translation]

With the conclusion of peace, in 1760,[1] in which the French surrendered Canada to England and the Spaniards Florida, America entered upon a period of proud tranquillity. It expanded and consolidated its position to an uncommon degree, and many people grew rich.

England labored under a heavy burden of debt and endeavored to persuade its colonies gradually to help carry the load.

The first impost was levied in 1765 in the form of the well-known Stamp Act. The Colonies resisted it, and Parliament yielded; but it passed the Declaratory Act, in which it asserted its right to obligate the Colonies in *all possible contingencies.* A very unfavorable construction was placed upon this, and it was interpreted among the masses in the Colonies in a most detestable light.

Another effort to tax America was made in Parliament, in 1767, duties being imposed for this purpose upon glass, paper, and tea. And, since the royal exchequer drew only inconsiderable amounts from American custom houses, there was constituted a Board of Commissioners in New England, for the purpose of collecting duties more rigorously in America. This proved a very irksome bridle for the great smugglers, and they made every effort to slip it off.

Jealousy, fear, and suspicion of the government in England, reciprocated by it in its attitude towards the Colonies, took root more and more and had unfortunate consequences on both sides.

Parliament, to show its power and authority, decreed various new acts, and the Assemblies made them the occasion for opposition.

For example, one act decreed what provision should be supplied

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[1] The Herrnhut MS reads: "1764".

by the inhabitants to royal troops in their billets. The New York Assembly altered some detail in this, to assert its rights. Thereupon, by command of England, the Governor prorogued the Assembly until it would accept the parliamentary act in its entirety.

1768. The Admiralty Court was altered. Supreme control over all civil authorities was given to the Commanders-in-chief and to Brigadier Generals under them. The Chief Justices became dependent upon the crown, in consequence of their [being appointed to serve[2]] only "during pleasure", instead of for a specified term of years or "good behaviour," and in consequence of their receiving a fixed salary from the King out of crown income.

The conduct of the Governors also gave occasion for much complaint. The so-called Patriots in Boston began to agitate vehemently, constituted a committee to carry on correspondence with the other Provinces, and proposed to establish such correspondence-committees everywhere, so as to come to a mutual understanding with regard to protests against the new acts of Parliament. Most of the Assemblies accepted their proposals and elected hot heads, who also usually were N. Englanders, to carry on the correspondence. They formulated all sorts of resolutions, composed petitions and protests, which they communicated to each other, urging their observance. The merchants united in pledging not to import such articles from England as long as duty or customs were placed upon them.

The Secretary of State criticised the daring of the Assembly in Boston in having presumed to advance such proposals to the other Assemblies and to enter upon illegal relations with them. His communication read: "It is the King's will, that the new Assembly should rescind the resolution of the old and expunge it from the minutes; else it is to be dissolved." The Assembly confirmed the action of the former Representatives and was consequently dissolved; several regiments of soldiers were stationed in Boston that same year, to maintain order.

The other Governors also received orders to prevent their Assemblies from having any connections with Boston; these would

[2] The Herrnhut MS contains this phrase.

not submit, and some of them were dissolved, newly elected, and again dissolved.

Thereupon, Parliament removed all duty from glass, paint [Farben], and paper, but let the 3 d[3] stand on every lb. of tea, which was imported into the Colonies. The Ministers declared upon this occasion, that the point at issue was not the 3 d, but the right to levy taxes. To this the Americans objected anew, forming new federations and taking other steps to resist it.

Since merchants would not import any tea from England (there was, indeed, no scarcity of this article, for one could secure ample supplies at 5/[4]-1 lb., presumably Dutch [tea]), the East Indian Company alleged this to be the reason why such quantities of tea lay in their warehouses without being called for. The company itself had estimated that ordinarily 2 million lbs. of tea were exported annually to America (presumably including the West Indies). It, therefore, joined in the endeavor to have all duty removed from tea, but Parliament resolved to let it stand. To relieve the situation for the East Indian Company, it was advised itself to ship the tea to America and sell it wholesale. Accordingly, it began preparations to do so. This news was highly unwelcome to the smugglers. In Providence, in Rhode Island, they boarded the schooner *Gaspes*[5] at night and burned it; it had been stationed there to prevent smuggling.

In March, 1772, soldiers and citizens clashed in Boston, and several of the latter were shot. This so enraged the rabble, that it was thought advisable to have the soldiers vacate the city and occupy the fort.[6]

Virginia petitioned the King to permit the Governor to approve an act which would prohibit the importation of negroes; but the plea found no hearing.

The Governor of South Carolina convened the Assembly in Beauford, 60 miles from Charlestown, at which that body took great offense, making it the occasion of breaking with him al-

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[3] The Herrnhut MS inserts: "sterling".

[4] The Herrnhut MS inserts: "Penn'a".

[5] Herrnhut MS reads: "Gaspee".

[6] The Herrnhut MS inserts: "lying on an island several miles from the city."

together. Governor Hutchinson, in Boston, also had frequent disputes with the Assembly, so that the fire began to flare in all the Provinces. In November 72, an article appeared in the papers, which began as follows: "Awake, Americans, awake! . . . taxes are being demanded and the collectors are ready, soldiers, pensioners, parasite judges, etc."

The Governor and others in Boston, had expressed their opinions in writing to a gentleman in England. Mr. B. Fr.[7] [Benjamin Franklin] got hold of the letters and sent them to Boston, where they were published. From them it appeared that these gentlemen had advocated a restriction of English liberty and the dispatching of some regiments to Boston. The Assembly in Boston reported this to the other Assemblies, sent a complaint against their Governor to England, and asked for his removal. This met with a poor reception; Mr. Franklin became greatly offended by the course of the matter and has since then sought by every means to gain his revenge.

In October 73, it was reported that the East Indian Company was prepared to send 600. cases of tea to Boston, 600. to Philad., 600. to New York, 200. to Charlestown, and 200. to Rhode Island. This greatly alarmed the merchants, because they feared the East Indian Company would thus gain a monopoly in tea and other East Indian products throughout America. All the papers were filled [with protests] against this move. Boston proposed a Congress of the Colonies, and town meetings were held everywhere. Such a gathering met in Philadelphia on the twentieth of October to discuss the matter; in it resolutions similar to those [passed] in other places were arrived at: namely, that the pretensions of Parliament to tax America were illegal; that the duty on tea was a tax upon Americans; that resistance to it was absolutely essential; that the resolution to send tea to America in the afore-mentioned way, was an open attempt to carry out the Ministers' plan and that it constituted a violent attack upon American liberty; that every American must oppose it, and that all who sought to further it, were enemies of the fatherland. And it was decided to make use of all legal ways and means to prevent the landing of the tea. Those designated

[7] The Herrnhut MS inserts: "the agent of Masachusets."

as commission merchants were everywhere requested not to accept the agency for the tea. Most of them yielded to the solicitation of their fellow citizens; others, particularly those in Boston, among whom were 2 sons of the Governor, endeavored to carry out their commission. Pilots everywhere were warned against bringing in a ship with tea.

Toward the end of November, the first tea reached Boston. The city wanted to have the ships return with their cargo to England; the Governor and the agents wanted it landed. This consumed so much time, that the ship could not leave the harbor without a new clearance. The Captain was refused this, and, contrary to expectation,[8] the Governor refused to give him a passport. And, when the people had gathered on the nineteenth of December because of this, a number of men in disguise overpowered the ship and emptied 342 cases of tea into the sea. In Charlestown, in South Carolina, the tea was landed and stored. In Philadelphia the Captain was ordered to anchor his ship some distance from town. He, however, appeared in a gathering of about 1000 people, from whom he learned that they wanted the tea not to be landed but taken back to London. On his agreeing to do this, he was immediately supplied with provision and refreshments for the voyage.

When the news of all this reached England, in 1774, Parliament considered the situation. On the thirty-first of March, it enacted the Boston Port Bill, as a punishment intended to make good the losses of the East Indian Company. On the tenth of May the bill arrived in Boston. On the fourteenth of May it appeared in the Philadelphia papers, and on the first of June it went into effect. On the thirteenth of May, General Gage had come as Governor to Boston, which no longer was to serve as seat of the government. An act proposing to change the Charter of Massachusetts Bay and the Canada Bill were used to encourage indignation against Parliament everywhere.

A Pennsylvania paper carried a snake that had been hacked into 13 pieces, of which New England was the head and Georgia the tail, with the motto: "Unite or die".

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[8] The Herrnhut MS reads: "as had been expected."

On the fifteenth of June an article appeared in Bradford's paper; it began thus: "Awake! America awake: do not let your brothers perish. Their downfall is your downfall. We are all in the same boat; we are all lost, if it gets beached."

In all Provinces, in which the leaders saw no hope of carrying out their designs in the General Assemblies, as, for example, in Pennsylvania, the cities found it good and needful to constitute a Confederation. Provincial conferences were convened. In June, delegates to a Congress were elected in Boston, in Connecticut, in Rhode Island, and in Maryland. The same was done, in July and August, in New York, South Carolina, North Carolina, and, in August, in Virginia. The Provincial Committee (to which Wm. Edmunds[9] and John Okely[10] belonged) met in Philadelphia on the fifteenth of July and passed all manner of resolutions. One was: to take up public collections for Boston throughout the country; they would serve in general as a proof of the sentiment of the people. Many £1000 of money and many 1000 bushels of provisions were gathered in the Provinces for the inhabitants of Boston.

In Bethlehem, old Mr. Herzel[11] himself went around begging, and everyone gave as he saw fit.

In Litiz the collection was made by one of the Brethren and turned over to the person designated as collector for the township, without individual names.

Most of the instructions given to the men chosen for Congress contained these points: that the authority to obligate the Colon-

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[9] William Edmunds, born in Colford, Gloucestershire, England, on Oct. 24, 1708. Came to America in 1736. Became acquainted with the Brethren in 1741. Served the Church in various capacities. At this time he had a store in Nazareth. Died there, Sept. 15, 1786.

[10] John Okely, born in Bedford, England, on May 26, 1721. Came to America in 1742. Served the Church first as itinerant minister; later he acted as real estate agent in Bethlehem, frequently representing the Church in these and other public matters. He was commissioned a Justice of the Peace in 1774 and became—contrary to the wishes of the Church authorities—Assistant Commissary of the continental forces during the Revolution. Died in Lancaster, Pa., May 15, 1792, having left Bethlehem as a result of a dispute about the ownership of a piece of land.

[11] (?) Jacob Herzel, 1716-1781, whose son, Jonas, was a member of the Committee of Safety.

ies in all contingencies, which Parliament had arrogated, was illegal, and that England could not tax the Colonies under the English Constitution, because representation and taxation were inseparable. General Gage banned town meetings in Boston, except such as had his consent, and began, in August, to fortify Boston-Neck.

On July 19, 74, the Prov. Committee in Philadelphia, Thomas Willing, Chairman, resolved: that it was absolutely essential to convene a Congress for the purpose of formulating a general plan of action for all the Colonies, looking toward the removal of their grievances, toward the avoidance of future discord, toward the stabilization of the laws of the land and the reestablishment of harmony between Great Britain and her Colonies, on the basis of the Constitution.

On the twenty-third of July, the Assembly approved the resolutions of the Committee and selected its delegates; it also caused instructions for them to be determined upon. These read:

That you are to endeavor to the best of your ability to formulate and adopt a plan in conjunction with them, which promises best to remove the grievances of America, to confirm American rights, and to establish that union and harmony which is most essential to the welfare of both countries. And you are strictly charged to avoid everything that would be contrary to the respect due to the mother-state. Jos. Galloway, Speaker.

Congress convened in Philadelphia on Sept. 5, 1774, and sat until the twentieth of October. During that period, the county in which Boston lies, proposed the resolution: to repel force by force and to resist the royal troops. This resolution was approved by Congress and recommended for the whole [land]. They drew up a list of their rights and of their complaints, pledged themselves to non-importation and even non-consumption of English goods, arranged for committees to supervise this, composed an address to the people of England, and chose May 10, 1775, as the date of the new session.

On Dec. 10, 74, the Assembly approved the resolutions of Congress, commending them to the people for strict observance; one ought to be afraid even to drink a cup of tea.

By the fifteenth of December, new delegates were elected and ordered to draw up new instructions.

On Dec. 22, 1774, the Philadelphia committee summoned a Provincial Convention to meet in Philadelphia on Jan. 23, 75.

In February, 75, Gov. Penn counselled the Assembly to place before His Majesty the complaints and grievances of his subjects. This would represent the constitutional method of procedure: namely, to have the Assembly take such action. He indicated he had very good reasons to believe, that they would be given proper attention. In their answer, they pointed out, among other things, that a humble petition by the delegates of the Colonies had already been submitted to the Throne, etc.

On May 1, 75, letters were presented to the Assembly from its agents, Franklin, Bolan, and Lee, dated Feb. 5, 75. In them they reported, that the petition of Congress had been submitted to Parl. in the routine way, among a mass of other papers; that the Ministers intended to compel obedience to the law; that 3. regiments of foot, 1. drag., 700 marines on 6. royal ships, etc., were under orders; that, in their opinion, nothing was to be accomplished by means of petitions; that it was proposed to disarm certain of the Provinces; and that changes in the Charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island had been suggested as good and expedient; that Parliament had declared a state of rebellion to exist in Massachusett, with other Colonies upholding and encouraging it; that Parliament recommended force and had promised to support the King with life and property.

In March, the Fishery Bill was drafted against the new Englanders; and they roundly denounced it as an extreme cruelty.

On April 19, 75, the first engagement took place between men of Old and New England at Lexington and Concord (oh, that these 2 names might portend that law and unity shall be established as the outcome of all this strife.)

It was occasioned by the chief patriots holding conferences in Concord and locating a magazine there for military supplies. It was said that English troops were sent to seize Samuel Adams and Hancock and the stores; because guards had been posted, it came to blows. Many New Englanders have sworn that the Regulars fired first, and some of the Regulars have sworn that the first shots came from the Provincials; others said, that Pro-

vincials in the ranks of the Regulars began it. An American army assembled immediately and besieged the English in Boston. On May 10, 1775, Congress met again, all steps were taken for a formal war with England, and Congress soon published a declaration as to why the Colonies had finally taken up arms. George Washington, a delegate to Congress from Virginia, was selected as Commander-in-chief by that body.

In all provinces and counties, military Associations were begun and a militia created. As a result, all who refused to bear arms or serve the cause had much to suffer; some were coated with tar on which feathers were then scattered, etc.[12]

The articles of the first Associations in the counties were: to defend their religious and civil rights with life and property and to organize companies of militia for this purpose, to elect officers, and to drill. No one was to be compelled to do this; each individual was to be free to volunteer for this, or not, to contribute towards the costs necessarily connected with this, or not. But this soon was changed, and many inclined to force all to cooperate with them.

At this juncture, Doctor Franklin returned from England and became a member of Congress.[13]. Brother Nathanael[14] took this opportunity to write to him, bidding him welcome in the name of the Brethren and requesting him to become the advocate in Congress of the Brethren and of other good people in this Province. The letter read in part:

I would therefore in the Name of the Brethren & others who conscientiously scruple to bear Arms in this & the other Provinces, beg the Favour of you to be their Advocate in the present Congress & to use your undoubted Influence with the Honourable Members: to give no Occasion in their Resolves to the several Committees or others to attack their Neighbours & Fellow Subjects in the most tender and dearest Parts, their religious Liberties and Conscience, but that they rather recommend it to the good People of these Provinces, to keep the

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12 The Herrnhut MS reads: "The New Englanders coated many with tar on which feathers were then scattered and led them thus through the towns or pilloried them. Other towns and districts imitated them in this, as in all manner of evil-doing."

13 The Herrnhut MS inserts: "He said: 'Put your heels together and throw up your Noses!' "

14 Nathanael Seidel was president of the Provincial Helpers' Conference for the Whole at this time.

Peace & to let every religious Society enjoy their Priviledges fully & undisturbed as long as they do not act against this Country.

I think none can or will withdraw themselves from the Common Burden & Expence of the Province wherein they live—That the God of Peace may direct the Councils of the Americans and the Councils in England so, that both may meet one another in the Way of Peace is surely the Prayer of Thousands. It is the constant Prayer of . . .

He answered in a friendly manner: that he detested the rowdyish proceedings of the Associators and all constraint of conscience—that Mr. Spangenberg himself had told him: that not all Brethren were conscientiously scrupulous to bear arms, and that those who did hold this view could serve their country in other ways, and that they should be urged to do so.

The fruit of this soon became evident, for the Town Committees published, on July 6, 75, a resolution of the Assembly, dated the thirtieth of June, together with a recommendation of Congress, viz.:

The House taking into consideration, that many of the good People of this Province, are conscientiously scrupulous of bearing Arms, it is recommended to these conscientious People, that they chearfully assist in Proportion to their Abilities, such Persons as cannot spend both Time & Substance in the Service of their Country, without great Injury to themselves and Families.

The communication from Congress read in part:

The Assembly, taking into Consideration the Situation of many conscientious People of this Province, with Respect to Arms, have on the 30th Day of June last, by their Recommendation of that Date, given to them, as well as others, advice which we hope all Persons will most chearfully follow. The Congress, & your Assembly greatly to their Honour, have taken Means for the Protection of America, and this Colony; and we would advise you, Gentlemen, to carry into Execution the Plans recommended by them, that this Colony may unitedly act upon one and the same Principle.[15]

Because there was much commotion throughout the whole country, the Provincial H. Conf. considered it advisable to issue an earnest appeal to the Brethren on the subject; on May 6, 1775, it sent the following circular to the town and country congregations:

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[15] The Herrnhut MS adds: "That the rich Mennonites in Lancaster-County and the Quakers in Philadelphia displaid so little inclination to follow this advice, gave the first occasion to the subsequent bitterness against them."

In the present melancholy circumstances, which have befallen the country wherein our Lord has placed us, and which seem to grow more widespread and serious as time passes, the constant aim of the Board and the outcome of all its deliberations in the sight of God our Saviour have hitherto been: to encourage all our beloved congregations and their members so to conduct themselves in this crisis, as befits the character of a peculiar people of the Lord, set by Him for blessing and for the performance of His purposes of peace wherever He has gathered them together. We wish, therefore, to take this opportunity to reemphasize a number of points which, even without our doing so, every true church member should cherish among fundamental things: we would like to reach an agreement upon them ourselves, and let our prayer and intercession rise to our merciful Lord, that He would graciously have mercy upon this country and reestablish peace and tranquillity, so that we might continue to lead under our beloved authorities a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.

We enjoin our entire membership, therefore, to seek grace and wisdom from our dear Saviour, ever to conduct themselves accordingly, in word and deed, and to avoid any occasion of becoming unnecessarily involved in conversation, lengthy accounts, and inquiries relating to this subject. Unquestionably, more benefit and blessing would accrue to us and our fellow men, were we to lay such matters in quiet prayer at our Saviour's feet; furthermore, excessive curiosity would rob our hearts both of peace and comfort in our Lord and of fraternal fellowship and unity of spirit, and would often occasion us unnecessary fear and anxiety.

Let our conduct manifest in all particulars confident trust in the aid of our d. [dear] Father in heaven, without Whose permission not a single hair may fall from our head. This will be in accordance with the teaching of J. Chr. and His apostles, and also with what we in our Moravian churches hitherto have considered a fundamental principle of our organization.

We are subject to the authority which has the power over us, with all our heart; for there is no authority except from God. What better course can we follow, than to prove ourselves, even in these sad times, a still and quiet people, which truly seeks the peace and best interests of the country. Consequently, we should avoid all circumstances which might hinder us—whether directly or indirectly—from attaining so wholesome an end, should willingly join in helping to bear the country's burdens, as far as our means allow, and share its suffering, if sufferings and sorrows be its lot.

Finally, we would urge our dear Brethren, should the country's misfortunes bring about a resort to arms also in this and neighboring Provinces (may God in His mercy avert this), to reflect upon the desirability and need of seeking to abstain from any participation therein, the rather performing our duty by gold and other ways and

means, considered helpful at such times. Thus we shall avoid setting a precedent because of which we might be deprived of what our churchfolk have prized so highly, namely freedom and exemption from the actual bearing of arms. We have hitherto enjoyed this in the Colonies, quietly and freely, under the protection of our b. [beloved] public authorities—something which we certainly cannot treasure enough. Moreover, we live in a country, where various opinions are to be found, on behalf of which men are ready to go to the limit in this case, for conscience's sake as it were; therefore we may hope, that only volunteers will be called for and such as do not scruple to take part.

Drawn up by Thrane.[16]

The 12th of June. General Gage issued a proclamation,[17] in which he promised to pardon all who would lay down their arms, Samuel Adams and John Hancock excepted.

On the 17th of June, the Americans wanted to occupy Bunkers-Hill and fire upon Boston thence; but when the English detected this, a bloody battle took place and [in] Charlestown, opposite Boston, about 300. houses were burned to the ground.

Soldiers were recruited in all parts, and several thousand sharp shooters were sent to Boston from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania; in Northampton County each township had to provide 2 men. Because Bethlehem took no part in this, the committee in Easton notified John Okely (who belonged to the County Committee), that, unless Bethlehem would furnish 2. men within 3. days, the committee would proscribe the Bethlehemites in the newspapers as enemies of the country. Mr. Okely presented the matter to the Brethren in a very dangerous light; he was given the answer, that we would furnish no men, that it was not our affair, but the township's; that we would not shirk our part, if this should involve expense and result in taxes being laid upon us. In this connection, he was requested, in writing, on behalf of the Brethren:

To declare (to the Committee) that we have all one common Interest with these Colonies—we wish to live in Peace with every Individual & wish well to the Country where we dwell, humbly to represent that

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[16] Amadaeus Paul Thrane, born Dec. 21, 1718, in Aalberg, Jutland; studied theology; came to Bethlehem in 1761 and served from that year on until his sudden death, on April 19, 1776, as its pastor. He also was a member of the provincial board.

[17] The Herrnhut MS inserts: "in Boston."

our Declining to exercise in the Use of Arms, is no new Thing or proceeding from certain Considerations, but that it is a fundamental Principle of the Brethrens-Church—a Point of Conscience, which has brought our first Settlers into this Province.—We never did nor ever will act inimically to this Country! We will do Nothing against its Peace & Interest. We will not oppose any Civil Rule or Regulation in the Province or County, where we dwell, but submit ourselves in all Things, where we can keep a good Conscience and we will never withdraw our Shoulders from the Common Burden.

The Connecticut forces took possession of Crown-Point and Ticonderoga, and planned an invasion of Canada. And since they did not trust the people of New York, they sent some 1000. men thither under all manner of pretexts, who became a terror to those of the royalist party and the support of the committee, which was controlled by New Englanders.

In July, Congress issued instructions to have the militia so organized, that one-fourth of its strength would be ready to march at any time.

All export was forbidden, nothing being permitted to be shipped except in exchange for ammunition. The boiling of saltpetre and the manufacture of powder were encouraged in all the Colonies.

In August, the Trade Acts were received from England, in which all American ships were declared prize vessels.—

Already then there was strong pressure in Congress for a declaration of independence. A letter from John Adams to Mr. James Warren, dated Aug. 17, 75, which had been intercepted, was published in the newspapers. It contained the following:

A certain great Fortune & pidling Genius (Dickinson) whose Fame hath been trumped so loudly, has given a silly Cast to our whole Doings, we are between Hawk and Buzzard. We ought to have had in our Hands, a Month ago, the whole Legislative, Executive, & Judicial Power of the Continent & to have compleatly modelled a Constitution, have raised a naval Power & opened all our Ports wide, to have arrested every Friend to Government on the Continent & held them as Hostages for the poor Victims in Boston and then opened the Door as wide as possible for Peace and Reconciliation, after this they might have petitioned, negotiated & addressed, etc. if they would. Is this extravagant, is it wild, is it not the soundest Policy?—What Sort of Magistrates do you intend to make? Will your new Legislative &

executive, feel bold or irresolute, will your Judicial hang, whip, fine & imprison without Scruple.

The people of Pennsylvania, Jersey, Maryland, N. York, Georgia, and North-Carolina were all still opposed to independence.[18] A petition addressed to the King was again sent to England with Richard Penn; but a certain party in Congress succeeded also in having an address to the people of Ireland sent simultaneously, so as to counteract the petition to the King.

On the 23rd of August, an attempt was made to remove the cannon from the fort in N. York; this brought about the first bombardment of the city by the battleship *Asia,* and people began to flee from the place.

In Nov., Congress began to make and circulate its own money. The 3. dollar bills bear the image of a hawk and heron in combat, with the inscription: *Exitus in dubio est* [The outcome is doubtful] and the words:

This Bill entitles the Bearer to receive three Spanish milled Dollars or the Valūe thereof in Gold or Silver, according to a Resolution of Congress passed in Philadelphia, Nov. 29, 1775.

The first issue amounted to 3. million dollars of which Pennsylvania was to repay 372,208½ by Nov. 30, 79.

In Oct. 75, the committee in Philadelphia exerted pressure to have the congressional mandate carried out and all able-bodied men between the ages of 16 and 50 organized into militia companies. Non-Associators, who, for conscience's sake, could under no circumstances bear arms, were to be compelled to pay a sum which should coordinate their status with that of the Associators in respect to the danger, loss of time, and expenses of the latter. By means of frequent petitions and remonstrances, they succeeded in having a Militia Law passed, according to which the Associators were to drill 20. times annually, and the Non-Associators pay 50. shill. in lieu thereof.

An invasion of Canada was undertaken. The Americans took St. Johns on the 3rd and Montreal on the 13th of Nov. and even attacked Quebec on Dec. 31, 75. They had, however, to

[18] The Herrnhut MS inserts: "A delegate from Virginia, Mr. Henry, is said to have drawn his sword, when the proposal was made, saying, he was willing to defend the freedom of the country, but not its independence."

withdraw from Canada again after heavy losses; 10. thousand men are said to have fallen in the attempt. This expedition provided an excuse to requisition all specie, since it was said to be needed in Canada. On New Year's day, 1776, Norfolk in Virginia and Falmouth in N. England were bombarded and burned.

In North-Carolina,[19] the 2. parties, the so-called Whigs and Tories, came to blows, and the latter got the worst of it.

In March, Congress ordered all Non-Associators to be disarmed immediately. Sir John Johnson, who had a considerable following along the Mohawks River and seemed dangerous, also was disarmed with several 100. others; he was not to leave his estate, but when he learned of further plans for his safe-keeping, he made his escape.

In February and March, the Assembly again was importuned by the Associators, to lay heavier fines upon the N.A. [Non-Associators]. By concerted action, petitions and remonstrances arrived from nearly all the counties in the space of a few days. One from Northampton County was read in the Assembly on the 12th of March, J. Wetzel[20] and Jacob Miller,[21] etc., having originated it. In it they represented conditions in this County as being particularly difficult for them, because of the number of inhabitants who were ill-disposed to the common cause, since the N.A. were obliged to pay only the small sum of 50. shill. and therefore many refused to sign the agreement binding the Associators. The watchword read that day: "The Lord saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was no intercessor, etc." [Isaiah 59:16.] In April, the tax was raised from 50/— to 70. shill. to satisfy the Associators. The Assembly also urged well-meaning N.A., who had good guns, to turn them over to designated collectors and resolved to disarm all disaffected ones.

On March 17, 76, the British vacated Boston.

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[19] The Herrnhut MS reads: "In North and South Carolina."

[20] Fr. John Wetzel, of Macungie, a County Lieutenant and himself an ex-Moravian. He adopted a distinctly hostile attitude toward the Church. Ettwein stated that Wetzel had formerly been a groom in the Bethlehem stables. See E.P. No. 1169a.

[21] Jacob Miller, a County Lieutenant.

Because the Assembly had forbidden its delegates in Congress to sanction independence, the N.E. [New Englanders] did all they could to oust them; none of the steps taken by the Assembly went far enough for the committee, which was controlled by the N.E. Therefore, the latter resolved to summon a convention and oust the Assembly entirely. The Assembly members belonging to their party, however, persuaded them to desist for the time being and proposed strengthening the representation of the rural counties, by which they hoped to strengthen their party. A law was passed immediately; according to it, Philad. was to send 4. and each of the rural counties 2. additional members to the Assembly, and the date of this election was set for the 1st of May. On it, the watchword read: "No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper [Isaiah 54:17.] Our foes are all within His hand".—But when the enlarged body met, it developed that the extremists had gained nothing thereby. Many ardent opponents of independence had been elected.[22] In the meantime, Congress

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[22] The remainder of this paragraph is very extensively expanded in the Herrnhut MS and reads as follows: "Because word had come that Commissioners would arrive from England, who were to endeavor to settle the points at issue, a declaration of independence was pushed the more zealously; Congress sought to get rid of those who opposed this and to have them replaced by more tractable persons. This was also done in the Jerseys.

Governor Franklin wrote to the G. Assembly in Jersey, on June 17, 1776, as follows:

'The Occasion of my calling you together at this Time was not only to give you an Opportunity of considering the present distracted State of the Province & of defending your own and the Peoples constitutional Rights, if you should choose it; but to communicate to you & to consult you, upon some Intelligence I have received from his Majestys Secretary of State, respecting the Bussiness to be transacted by the Commissioners which his Majesty has graciously condescended to appoint for the Purpose, among others of conferring with proper Persons upon such Points as may be necessary for effecting a Reformation of the publik Tranquility.

These Commissioners I had great Reason to expect would be arrived by the Time of your Meeting, and I know of no Persons in this Province so proper to receive and to confer with them as yourselves . . .

Let me exhort you to avoid above all Things the Traps of Independence and Republicanism now set for you, however temptingly they may be baited.—

but remember Gentlemen—should—they accomplish their beneficial Purpose, yet their Government will not be lasting—when the present high Fever shall abate of its Warmth—The People will wreak their Vengeance on the Heads of those who taking Advantage of their Delirium had plunged them into such Difficulties and Distress.

This Gentlemen, I well know is not Language suited the Times.—a

decreed that new governments should be constituted by the people; its tools in Philadelphia insisted that the Assembly could not do this but that a convention must be called for the purpose. They protested against the Assembly's remaining in session and supported their conduct by referring to the action of Congress. They sent people into the counties in order to win the committees to their view. In this connection, some did not hesitate to de-

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real Patriot can seldom or ever speak popular Language, a false one will suffer himself to speak nothing else. The last will often be popular because he will allways conform himself to the present Humours and Passions of the People, that he may the better gratify his private Ambition and promote his own sinister Designs.—It is the Part of an ignoble Mind to decline doing good for Fear of the Evil that might follow.'

Soon after, Governor William Franklin was sent by Congress to N. England, as a political prisoner. He quickly won the goodwill of the inhabitants of the place to which he had been sent to a degree thought undesirable. Therefore, he was placed in Litchfield under stricter supervision, until he was exchanged for the Governor of the Lower-Counties.

Congress decreed that new governments should be constituted by the people. Its tools in Philadelphia insisted that the Assembly could not do this, but that a Convention must be called for this purpose. They protested against the Assembly remaining in session and supported their contention by the action of Congress. They sent emissaries into the counties in order to win the committees over to their view. One of these persons said in Easton: 'Whoever still expresses himself as favoring the King, should be hanged on the nearest tree.' In Lancaster, the moderate members of the committee were prevented by drawn swords from casting their votes. The committees sent deputies to Philadelphia to a convocation which they called the Provincial-Committee. Northampton was represented by: Rob't Levers, John Wetzel, Nic. Depui, Niel Gray, David Daeschler, and Benj. Depui, all Associators and Committee men. They resolved to hold a Convention.

The declaration, which they issued on the 24th of June, is remarkable for the authority which they had arrogated and for the expressions used. It contains, among the rest, the following: 'That it now is apparent that loyalty to him (the King) is treason against the good people of this land'—'We, the deputies of the people of Pennsylvania,' (n.b. in this county there were not 20. men who sent them) 'herewith declare publicly and unanimously, in our own names and with the approval, agreement, and authority of our constituents, our willingness to support the resolution of Congress, in declaring the United Colonies to be free and independent States.' Signed by Thomas M'Kean.

The watchword read: "The Lord of hosts will protect Jerusalem—preserve it.' [Isaiah 31:5]. 'No evil shall befall thee,' etc.

They had resolved that all Associators who were 21. years old could vote in the election of the Convention, which was to take place on the 8th of July; that all others who were entitled by law to vote for Assemblymen, might also vote for the Convention, provided that they would take the following oath: 'I, A. B., swear or affirm, that I do not consider myself bound to be loyal and subject to King G. III of Great Britain and that I shall in no way oppose, either directly or in-

clare that whoever would so much as express himself as favoring the King, should be hanged on the nearest tree.* The committees (poor, ignorant people) sent deputies to Philad.

* In Lancaster, etc., they prevented, by drawn swords, all moderates among the members of the committee from casting their votes.

Later it was learned that the committee in Philadelphia had directed the County Committees to agree upon the candidates

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directly, the establishment of a free government in this Province by the Convention, now to be elected, in accordance with the measures taken by Congress against the tyranny of Great Britain.'

The oath required of the members of the Convention was similar, but more detailed.

Resolved: that Philad: shall send 8. persons to the Convention and each county 8. The election was to be held according to districts. In Northampton, the polls were at 4. places, being divided according to the 4. County battalions. (A good friend showed me the list of candidates sent them from Philadelphia, in which 2. of the ranking officers in each battal. were named, who also were elected.)

The election was advertized in the newspapers and set for the 8th of July.

On the 28th of June, existing conditions in this country were discussed at length in a meeting of the Provincial Helpers' Conference. Our aim was, on the one hand, to make no surrender of anything pertaining to the cause of the Saviour and of the principles of our Church, and, on the other, so to conduct ourselves as to avoid, as far as possible, every occasion for disturbance from our neighbors and to live in peace and quiet with them. Thus far the Saviour has kept the sky calm over us, enabling us to refrain entirely from party strife. We can trust Him to continue to do so, if we persist in behaving as His children, subject to the authority having power over us, desiring to live in love and peace with all men.

When questioned concerning our sentiments in view of these sad controversies, we should act most fully in accord with our calling, should we answer that we look upon them as chastisement meted out to the Colonies and to England alike and that, as for anything more, we consider ourselves too shortsighted and ignorant to apportion right and wrong to one side or the other.—

Since it is proposed to establish complete independence of Great Brittain and to set up governments under the authority of the people alone, for which purpose a Convention has been elected to meet on the 8th of July, [and] since a certain test has been required of the electors, and the purpose of said Convention involves a complete alteration of our present government, we decided it would be preferable for us to remain entirely inactive in the matter. We would quietly and patiently submit, meanwhile, to all measures which time and circumstances might bring with them, counselling our Brethren in the 3. local settlement congregations not to take part in the election. Since such a course might make us conspicuous and would be open to misrepresentation, the question was raised: whether, therefore, a written explanation should not be submitted to the proper authorities concerning our views. But it was held to be best to postpone any written explanation until a wrong attitude should be imputed to us. However, in order not to neglect anything in this connection, we resorted to

beforehand and to prepare the ballots accordingly. In Northampton they at once arranged to have 2. of the officers from each battalion voted for; and, since only Associators participated in the election, only such men were chosen. In N. County: Simon Dreisbach, Jacob Orndt, Peter Burkhalter, Peter Rhoads, Jacob Stroud, Neigel Gray,[23] Abr. Miller, John Ralston, Colonels, Majors, and Captains. Letters had come from Philadelphia to

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the * [the lot], and He, Who is the guardian of the simple, counselled us: *that we should remain quiet under these circumstances.*

We decided to advise such Brethren as might be elected or nominated as members of the Convention, to try to keep clear of the matter, should they be approached.

With regard to our town and country congregations, we resolved to communicate the sentiment of the Conference to the communicant members in writing, so that they and our settlement congregations might follow a uniform course of action, as far as possible. This was done by means of the following circular, dated June 29, 76:

'Cordially beloved Brethren,

We hope you will often lovingly remember us under the present circumstances in this country and join us in thanking our dear Saviour for the protection and peace of God which have safeguarded our Church-settlements hitherto. We, too, have often remembered you before our dear Lord in these days and have prayed Him to act as your faithful Shepherd under such circumstances and to secure your hearts from the spirit of this world. This He will mercifully accomplish.

But we also felt it our duty to our dear Lord, jointly to admonish and comfort you again by means of a few lines.

To remain quiet and to await the help of the Lord has been our endeavor hitherto, though we have failed in it on one or more occasions. Yet, on the whole, our faithful Saviour has kept us true to that policy. And He has again endorsed it in a conference which we held with our dear Brother Matthew [Hehl].

We shall, therefore, observe it strictly as regards the Convention and its election. We do not see how a Brother can have anything to do with it or be active in the overthrow of the government under which we have enjoyed so many benefits. Whatever has been determined upon by the decree of the watchers shall take place; how utterly unsearchable are His judgments and His ways past tracing out. We can observe them best after the event; and our great comfort in this is: The Lord knows His own and takes their part.

Dear Brethren, we pray you therefore to remain patient in tribulation; do not permit yourselves to stray from simplicity of mind in Christ. We can truthfully say: that we do not understand these matters. Then why should we do aught contrary to our conscience, just to please others? That would thwart our glorying in Christ.

Our dear Saviour and His Spirit will surely guide you aright, if your heart and mind remain secured against the world and open unto Him.

All the world recognizes the Brethren to be obedient and loyal people, subject to the authority that has power over us; for we believe with all our heart that where there is any authority, it is of God; and whoso resists it, resists the ordinances of God.'—"

[23] The Herrnhut MS reads: "Niel Gray"

the rural sections with instructions, not to consider education or special sagacity in making the selection, but to choose only such as were completely devoted to the common cause; and this they faithfully observed.

The Convention elected Dr. Franklin as President, and a lawyer Ross, Vice-President.

2 regiments of New Englanders were to come to Philadelphia to guard the Convention; but by way of compromise, the officers of the Penns. Associators, through the medium of their deputies in Lancaster, elected the zealous ring-leader, Dan'l Roberdeau, and a Ewing as their generals. The first business before the Convention was action to effect the complete disarmament of the N.A.; and it was announced that drastic measures would be taken to equalize the burdens borne by the Associators, who were ready bravely to take the field, and the N.A., who would remain at home in peace and safety.

It appointed new deputies to Congress and gave the deputies new instructions, not to consent to any peace negotiations, unless the Colonies were first recognized as independent states.

They ordered the militia into Jersey. Many who had been persuaded to sign as Associators, by means of trickery and lies, were now compelled to march; Brethren from Lancaster, Yorktown, Libanon, etc., were also forced to do so. (One company of 120. men belonging to Northampton County, which had shown itself most peaceable when marching through Bethlehem, was cut down to 30. men in Long Island.)

They voted, that from the 14th of Sept. on, the N.A. should pay a monthly fine of 20. shill., in addition to a tax on their property of 4. shill. on the £.

In August, they appointed justices of the peace, all creatures of the committees. These had to purge themselves of all loyalty to the King by an oath, before they assumed office. In the whole land, none of the Brethren were included in the list, except Wm. Henry[24] of Lancaster. In N.hampton County none accepted office.[25]

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[24] William Henry, born May 19, 1729, in Chester Co., Penn'a, died Dec. 15, 1786 in Lancaster, Pa He was an ardent supporter of the cause of the Colonies. In 1782, *e. g.*, Ettwein reported that Wm. Henry

In September, they declared that adherence to the King of Great Britain, and any support given him against the United States, constituted high treason.

They published, on the 10th of September, a Form of Government, allegedly for consideration by the people. Therein it became evident that the deists predominated in authority, if not in numbers: all who held credence in God and were outspoken enemies of the King became naturalized by this instrument; Jews, Turks, and heathen are authorized to sit in the Assembly and become counselors and presidents: in the entire Constitution, neither the Christian religion, nor the Bible, nor Christ are referred to by a single word. (When a representation was made in the Convention on this point, one of the learned heathen arose and said: "Pooh, pooh! That is old stuff which no intelligent person has believed for a long time.")

At once, all manner of protests against it appeared in print. On Sept. 26, 76, Mr. Townes' *Evening Post* contained an article, which afterward appeared also in German in Miller's and Sauer's newspapers. It read in part:

That a Declaration of Faith in One Almighty God, the Creator & Governor of the Universe, should be sufficient to qualify a Man to be an Inhabitant in Pennsylvania, as Wm. Penn has granted it, is just & reasonable. But that it should henceforth also qualify a Person, to sit in the House of Representatives, is in my Opinion abrogating the Rights & Liberties of the People & not enlarging them.—Wm. Penn in his Declaration of Rights says: That all Persons, who also profess to believe in Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the World, shall be capable to serve this Government in any Capacity. This Bar against professed Deists, Jews, Mohometans, & other Enemies of Christ, is now removed, & if the Declaration Sect. 10. remains, as it is printed, let the World judge, whether it is not in Fact, a firmer Establishment for Anti-Christ & all damnable Errors, than the Quebec Bill for Popery.—If the Christian States in Europe hear: The Pennsylvanians have made a new Constitution & Frame of Government for themselves, by which Jews, Turks & Heathen (for Heathenism dost [doth] not consist in not believing

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was "drunk with joy because Parliament had been obliged to resolve to grant independence to the Americans." See E.P. No. 1153. For an account of his life, see *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. XXVII, pp. 91ff.

[25] The Herrnhut MS inserts: "On July 4, 1776, The Declaration of Independence was determined upon in Congress and proclaimed in Philadelphia on the 8th of July."

One God, but in not believing the revealed God) may not only be Freemen of that Land, but are eligible for Assemblymen, Judges, Councellors, & Presidents & that their new Constitution mentions not a Word of the Bible, Christ or Christian Religion, much less Protestantism, a Presbyterian Meeting House, a Roman Catholick Church, an Episcopal Church, a Mosque, Synagogue, or Heathen-Temple, have now in Pennsylvania all equal Priviledges, Will any Christian Power call this—State for the future a Christian State?—If Blasphemers of Christ & the Holy Ghost or the everblessed Trinity, Despisers of Revelation & the Holy Bible, may be Legislators, Judges, Councellors & Presidents or Governours in Pennsylvania, Wo unto the City! Wo unto the Land![26]

Thereupon, the Convention hastened to confirm its proposal, changing the prescribed confession of faith in so far as to add the underscored to it:

I do believe in One God the Creator & Governor of the Universe. *The Rewarder of the Good and Punisher of the Wicked.*
And I do acknowledge the Scripture of the Old & New Testament to be given by divine Inspiration.

Someone later pointed out, how equivocal this confession of faith was; that they had carefully omitted the word *holy;* that they held human understanding, wit, and gifts to be divine inspiration and thought of the Alcoran in the same way.

On the 28th of September, they signed the Constitution, after having determined that the election of a new Assembly should take place on the 5th of November, in which connection the electors were first to take an oath of renunciation, and that nothing should be altered in this their Constitution for a period of 7. years. The watchword on this day: "*Take counsel together, and it shall be brought to nought; speak the word, and it shall not stand: for God is with us.* [Isaiah 8:10] Is God my strong salvation, no enemy I fear"—was quite remarkable.

All wealthy, respected, and scholarly men in the Province condemned the Convention with its Constitution; associations were also openly formed against it.

No one cared to be justice of peace; and finally many persons were appointed to this office, who could neither read nor write. No one cared to become chief judge; finally they had to appoint a general attorney from Jersey. But they controlled the polls

[26] Ettwein himself was the author of this article in the *Evening Post*, as is evident from the Washington Photostats, folios 5 and 6.

and had themselves elected to the Assembly; there they retained power by means of their laws and oppressed people not a little.

The Assembly, which had been superseded by the Convention, declared that the N.A. need not pay the fine imposed by the Convention. However, the fine was collected by force. For various reasons, the Brethren unanimously resolved not to pay the fine willingly, but to wait until it was taken from them; and this was actually done for the first time, when old Mr. Lawall[27] came with some militiamen prepared to apply force; he thereupon received it in various ways without, however, confiscating moveables or cattle in Bethl., Nazareth, etc. In Gnadenhütten,[28] the officers commanded them to take a yoke of draft oxen from one Brother and his blacksmith tools from another, until they should redeem them. Many Brethren belonging to the country congregations drilled and campaigned with the militia. There also were those among us, who would have preferred to have permitted the young men to drill, rather than pay such heavy fines. [But] many said: "It would be an unjustifiable breach of trust on the part of the ministry, should they allow the Brethren to be induced by force or trickery or persecution to surrender their honorable freedom in the matter of bearing arms. That this matter was a fundamental part of the Unity of the Brethren and that no settlement congregation could be established, where they were not granted freedom to be friends of all men."

The Penns. Assembly said in the year 1755: "Whoso surrenders an essential liberty for the sake of some temporary safety, deserves neither the safety nor the liberty." That is true.

It was repeatedly proposed to treat all fines levied in lieu of drilling and assessments for substitutes, as a common concern, to raise them through a committee and pay them as a ransom or other charge of war. This did not meet with general approval, though subscriptions[29] were taken to help those Brethren out of their trouble who had no property, and the Single Brethren really did make a common concern out of this among themselves.

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[27] (?) John Michael Lawall, 1716-1796, who came to America in 1749.

[28] On the Mahony.

[29] The Herrnhut MS reads: "A subscription was taken on one occasion."

The doctrinal texts from the 7th to the 12th of July were particularly remarkable and provided comfort and blessing for our Brethren in various places, as, indeed, for us all. "Blessed are the peacemakers—they that have been persecuted for righteousness' sake. I say unto you, resist not evil. Be not afraid of them that kill the body. The very hairs of your head are all numbered." [Matt. 5:9, 10, 39; 10:28, 30, 31.] Our daily readings were taken from the weekly series of the year 1756,[30] in which we found all manner of precepts and doctrines applying admirably to our conditions; they served to counteract ill-advised modes of thought, which sought to insinuate themselves in the case of this or that individual; *e.g.*, that of Nov. 10, 56, concerning the words: "If it be possible, as much as in you lieth, be at peace with all men." [Rom. 12:18] This reads in part:

It is reasonable that we must be a peace-loving people, if we would live quietly under a calm sky.—The peace that makes men blessed and enlightened, results from a peaceful and a peaceably inclined heart. A generous, humanitarian disposition, which wants to live in peace because it esteems the common brotherhood, is drawn to its fellow creatures, and reflects: "Do we not all have one Father, has not One God made us all?"—All who use their human intelligence in reflecting upon this matter will see, that there is no higher art, than that of facing these complicated times—Simple morality will not suffice for being at peace with all men and with the rest of creation; to hit the mark, an educated [form of it] is required, to attain to which one must [pursue] studies, grow wise by experience, and learn by means of manifold errors and blunders. How to deal with one's fellow men under all circumstances, is one of the chief maxims of the Kingdom of Christ; it reads: "If it be possible, as much as in you lieth, be at peace with all men; but, if it be impossible, then take steps in good time to prevent men from getting the mastery. Owe no man anything; occupy in good time a certain position of liberty, for which also Christ set you free; be not servants of men, for you have been bought with a price!" These are the methods by which we can keep our hearts in peace and manifest the same to men under all circumstances. Should they not think as we do, however, we can retain superiority over them by means of our isolation and carry out the special cause of our Saviour. The outcome of peacefulness which both sides recognize, is: "They shall be called the children of God." It will so influence the opinion of men,

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[30] Short addresses by Zinzendorf delivered to Moravians in Berthelsdorf, near Herrnhut, which were circulated throughout the Church in manuscript form; selections from them were later published by the Church.

that they will not readily disturb that kind of folk, but will pass them by, if they can at all do so while carrying out their evil intentions, or, at least, they will deal very sparingly with them and not unnecessarily force them to participate in any undertaking.—

(this has held true.)

The following appears in an address dated *the 5th of Sept.*:

What we are meant to know about the inwardness of each and every thing, this, too, we learn by means of our association with Him.—We live in the world; not only what happens under our own roof-trees is important for us, but we are also compelled at times to hear and see matters, near or far, which change our ordinary condition and seem strange to us, since we do not know, the first day or two, how to interpret them.—Then, instead of arguing about them with some other individual, who knows as little about them as do we, surely the Saviour is the nearest and best person to hear our artless thoughts; for no sooner has one told Him a matter than it is attended to, approved or corrected. Reflection is intended to keep us from undertaking to present complaints and prayers to the Saviour about every notion or idea which comes to us from other folk. But with regard to everything of the inwardness of which we do not have a complete grasp or thorough comprehension, we should commend ourselves and His people to the Saviour, heart, soul, and body, near and far. Upon matters which we do not understand, we are not to enter at all. Our Brethren and Sisters are not easily misled to do as is customary in churchly circles. There, when some natural calamity is reported, or famine, war, and the like, the occurrence is prayed against, opposed, and request is made for the victory of this side or that. Intelligent and habitual association with the Saviour prevents such a course. We are His people, *we* know that one eye watches over all things, and that His Father's measures are wholly just. He Himself, therefore, must put it into our hearts to say "yes" or "no" to anything.—We should, therefore, make it our rule to know the true inwardness of any matter thoroughly and in detail, or else keep ourselves entirely away from it as far as possible, and tell neither the Brethren and Sisters, the Saviour, nor, least of all, strangers anything which we do not rightly know.

The 9th of Dec. "In your days will I speak the word and will perform it." [Ez. 12:25] "*Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers*" [Rom. 13:1].—We only wish our walk might be more worthy of abundant grace and [show forth] that our family Head Who is so near to us, [is] the Theocrata, Who has His administration [Oeconomie] on earth.[31] We would live in pleasant harmony with the authorities, both with those whom we own ex pacto [by our consent] as well as those de facto; for, in a sense, we maintain a good understanding with both,

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[31] This sentence is not entirely clear in the original.

performing our obligations to the former with our whole heart, as time and circumstances may direct, and to the latter because of their office. We do this just because nothing takes place without God. Yet there is this difference; in the one case we obey, in the other we do it gladly and would do even more, since our hearts must necessarily be in all that is done according to the well-ordered disposition of God. Reasonable opponents are content that it should be so. They are not bent upon cordial assent but only upon having their particular purpose carried out. Thus a people of God can continue to get along *and need not be guided by the desire to please men, leaning now to this side now to that, like weathervanes that are influenced more by considerations of advantage than by duty and faithfulness.* Our family Head does not teach us such a course; He helps His people through, when they follow a firm and stable course. And our task is simply to act entirely in accord with the disposition of heart of a child of God; then we will never make a mistake.

NB. These were the principles and ideas by which we sought to guide our actions and which we tried to impress upon our Brethren and Sisters; and we were well content.

General Howe, with the British army, reached Staten Island in July, only a few days after the proclamation of independence. He informed Congress that England would like to put an end to its disputes with the Colonies. Since the declaration of independence had caused many worthy people to alter their opinions entirely and become so-called Tories, and since many in Congress, too, among them Gen'l Washington, still were for binding the wound, Congress found itself obliged to send deputies to Howe. They were Dr. Franklin, John Adams and Rudlege. The first 2. told Gen'l Howe that Congress would enter upon no negotiations unless he, Howe, would recognize them as independent states. That ended the matter. Rudlege gave an entirely different report of the interview from that of the other 2., who feared negotiations might materialize.

Dr. Franklin left for France soon after this.

On Aug. 22, 76, the British landed on Long Island, defeated the Americans on the 27th, and took possession of NYork on the 15th of Sept., which was set on fire by incendiaries on the 20th of Sept., a large section being laid in ashes. On the 16th of Nov., Fort Washington was taken and on the 21st Fort Lee; thereupon Washington's army retreated hastily across the Delaware into Pennsylvania, and the English pursued them.

Gen'l Lee, with sev. thousand men, took the direction of Easton and Bethlehem. (Some of his officers said that this infamous man had threatened, the very day he was taken prisoner, to make an end in a few hours of the nest of Tories in Bethlehem and to offer his men amusement in the Sisters' House.) General Sullivan happened to find Gen'l Gates in Bethlehem, who caused them to camp [outside the town] and maintained discipline,[32] so that we came off lightly, losing only the fences which had enclosed the fields along the Lecha.[33]

Because of the retreat of the army, its hospital also had to be transferred to Pennsylvania; in Morris-Town it numbered 2000, according to Dr. Shippen's statement. On the 3rd of Dec., we received the following communication in Bethlehem from Surgeon General John Warren:

According to his Exc. Gen'l Washingtons Orders, the General Hospital of the Army is removed to Bethlehem, and you will do the greatest Act of Humanity by immediately providing proper Buildings for their Reception, the largest and most capacious will be the most convenient, etc.

This was accompanied by an order from the committee in Easton which had already recommended the Sing. Brethren's House to the doctors. Dr. Warren and Dr. Shippen arrived on the very same day. All the available accommodations were assigned to them, so that they estimated that 250. could be cared for there; they were satisfied with this and promised to place the rest in Easton, Allenstown, and vicinity. On their arrival our doctrinal text read: "Then the master of the house said: Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor and maimed and blind and lame." [Luke 14:21]

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[32] General Gates purposely delayed his departure from Bethlehem in order to protect the Moravians and placed men from his own bodyguard as sentries around the Sisters' House. The Moravians were deeply grateful to him, calling him their "father" and "guardian angel". Many considered the doctrinal text given for the day of his departure as applicable to him: "Whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only, in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you he shall in no wise lose his reward. [Matt. 10:42] Grant him through eternity, Then a place in Salem's city." General Gates seems also to have had a high regard for the Moravians. He invited them to establish a settlement on his land on the Ohio and promised to use his influence to help them maintain freedom of conscience in Virginia. See the Bethlehem Diary, Dec. 15-19, 1776 and E.P. No. 96.

[33] The Lehigh.

The 4th of Dec. It was really a pitiful sight; they lacked all provisions and would have had to have gone hungry for 3 - 4 days, had not Bethlehem fed them. Throughout this winter, they frequently heard the gospel also; in some cases this brought fruit, either at, or before, their end. That winter, 110 of them were buried in Bethlehem.[34] On the 8th of Dec., the English occupied Newport in Rhode Island. On the 26th of Dec., they were surprised by Washington at Trenton and many Hessians were captured; this gave new courage to the fugitives.

On Jan. 3, 1777, a battle took place near Princetown, and Washington withdrew to Morristown in Jersey, where he encamped; the English were in NYork, Long-Island, Staten Island, Brunswick, etc.

The election of the new Assembly, in accord with the decree of the Convention, was carried out in the greatest confusion. In some districts they held the election on the usual day in Oct., as specified in the Charter; in others they wanted to disregard the oath when balloting; in yet others no one was allowed to vote without taking the oath prescribed by the Convention. In the end, however, the Convention had its way, because their party was exceedingly active. They elected a majority of the Assembly and then did all in their power to reenforce the edifice they had built.

On June 13, 1777, a law was passed which decreed that all male, white inhabitants above 18. years of age were required to take the following oath or affirmation prior to the 1st of July, or the first of August in the case of the more remote counties:

I N.N. do Swear (or affirm) that I renounce & refuse all Allegiance to George the Third King of Gr. Br. his Heirs & Successors; and that I will be faithful & bear true Allegiance to the Common Wealth of Pennsylvania as a free & independent State; and that I will not at any Time do or cause to be done any Matter or Thing that will be prejudicial or injurious to the Freedom & Independence thereof, as declared by Congress; and also, that I will discover and make known, to some one Justice of the Peace of said State, all Treasons or traiterous Con-

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[34] The Hernnhut MS adds: "Chiefly Virginians and Marylanders. The Virginian, Col. Reed, of the First Virginia Regiment, also lay here for six months as an invalid; he became anxious about his sins and died a little later in Philadelphia."

spiracies, which I now know, or hereafter shall know, to be formed against this or any of the United States of America.

The Justice of Peace shall give the Person the following Certificate. "I do hereby certify that N. N. hath voluntarily taken & subscribed the Oath of Affirmation, prescribed," etc.[35]

The law read:

Whoever shall refuse or neglect to take or subscribe to the oath as herein stated, shall be ineligible to occupy any office or important post in this State, to serve on juries, to collect any debts by legal methods, to vote or be elected, to buy or sell or to bequeath to others any lands, houses, or legacies, and is to be disarmed.

Whoever shall leave the town or county wherein he resides, without such a certificate, may be considered a spy or one who fosters principles hostile to the United States and be arrested; should he refuse to take the oath before a justice of the peace, or to subscribe to it, he shall be thrown into prison without bail until he shall take or subscribe to the oath.

Whoever shall issue a false certificate, shall pay a fine of £50.

Thorough discussions were held in the settlement congregations as to what decisions could be reached in this matter, without sacrificing a clear conscience or acting unworthily of our name and calling. Each Brother was interviewed individually and his opinion sought. It developed, almost without exception, that they were unwilling to take the oath and would rather face some suffering. Answers like these were given: "I promised loyalty to the King when I was naturalized; how can I withdraw that and abjure him, without first being assured that God has taken this Province from him?" "The Test Act is a restraint upon conscience; were I to abjure the King through fear, contrary to the promptings of my heart, I should suffer from a bad conscience, bear false witness against myself, and cause the Justice to bear false witness." "I should give great offense to my Brethren and to many other good people in my neighborhood." "I should consider it shameful ingratitude for the Brethren voluntarily to renounce the English Government, since they have enjoyed so many benefits under this rule and still do enjoy them in all English lands." "Why, I should act contrary to our congregational rules, were I to cast my lot with this party and join in the contest!" "How can I

[35] This oath and form of certificate are then given in a German translation.

honestly support such an unjustifiable, controversial, despicable, and—in my opinion—unchristian institution, since I know that the majority of the country are against it?'' ''How could I testify before God and inscribe with my hand in the records, that I have done this voluntarily, when this is not true, and many know that it would be contrary to the truth?'' ''May a Brother take refuge in excuses, like: 'God looks leniently upon a forced oath!'? May a Brother affirm something, the meaning of which would be ambiguous and unclear, attributing thereto a different meaning, so as to persuade himself?'' Such expressions, and similar ones, were encountered. Therefore, we concluded, that no individual belonging to a settlement congregation, who should comply under any pretext whatever and take such a test, could remain a communicant member among us. And we resolved quietly to await what lay before us, to refrain from all travel which would not be absolutely necessary, but otherwise to follow our calling faithfully.

In the town and country congregations many took the test for various reasons; yet in the whole country, the majority opposed it.

In Jersey, where they had passed such a Test Act before Pennsylvania did, the 3. Brethren, Leinbach,[36] Muskbach, and Blum had to appear on the 11th of July, before Governor Livingston and the Council, in response to a summons. The watchword for the day read: ''For the Lord Jehovah will help me, therefore have I not been confounded'' [Isaiah 50:7], and the doctrinal text: ''Be not afraid of them that kill the body, etc.'' [Luke 12:4] An oath of loyalty and another renouncing allegiance were demanded of them. They presented the following written declaration:

Gentlemen! We do not believe you can question that we are good and peaceable inhabitants of this country, friends of all men and dangerous to none. We hope, therefore, that you will not constrain us to take the oath renouncing allegiance and the oath of loyalty, because it is contrary to our religious principles to take said oaths. We shall endeavor to lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty, as we have done hitherto; nor shall we undertake anything that would be disadvantageous or harmful to the government under which we live

[36] The Herrnhut MS reads: "Frederick Leinbach."

and enjoy the blessing of freedom of conscience, for freedom of conscience is more precious to us than life itself. We trust you may ever find us to be a good and harmless people, and that we shall, as such, enjoy your favor and protection.

When the gentlemen discovered that all their persuasion was of no avail and that Br. Leinbach, with whom they made trial first, was not to be moved, they demanded from each £300. security, that they would appear before the next [session of] court. They gave security for each other; they appeared before the next [session of] court and were asked whether they would take the test. When they replied, "No!" they remained under bond from one session to the next. Thus the Brethren in Hope enjoyed complete peace and were treated very leniently in respect to militia matters, as well.[37]

On the 10th of July, it was urged, upon solicitation by some timorous Brethren, that the ministry should be more active in protecting the Brethren from the consequences of the Militia and Test Acts and address a petition to Congress or the Assembly.[38] However, we still felt all kinds of scruples against breaking our silence. And the 76 text assigned for this day[39] read: "I say unto you resist not evil." [Matt. 5:39.]

As the daily reading in Bethlehem, on the 24th of July, an earnest injunction of April 8, 59, by the late disciple [Zinzendorf] against futile participation by members in war was reread:

Should we wish to occupy ourselves with an investigation into the justice of wars, we would have a real task cut out for us; and it would be thankless labor in the end. Our Saviour has said: wars are no concern of ours; nation shall rise against nation, but we are to remain quiet and attend to our work. If we concern ourselves with soldiery at all, it must simply be because they need our help as human beings; in that case, we shall not fail in performing our humanitarian and Christian duty!

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[37] The Herrnhut MS adds: "Finally, they were excused from giving security."

[38] The Washington photostats, folios 7 and 9, indicate that this solicitation came from Lancaster and Lititz, William Henry and Bishop Hehl taking the lead in advocating such a course.

[39] Due to the war, communications between Herrnhut and Bethlehem were interrupted and the daily watchwords and doctrinal texts failed to reach Bethlehem in time. In this emergency, members of the Bethlehem board drew texts from those used in the previous year. See Bethlehem Diary, Oct. 14, 1775 and June 6, 1777.

In April, the English from NYork destroyed the New Englanders' stores in Danebury.

General Burgoine was sent with a small army through Canada, to push towards Albany and into New England. On the 6th of July, they took Ticonderoga. On the 18th of Aug., they suffered a heavy loss near Penington.[40] This, combined with their slow march and Gen'l Howe's operations against Pennsylvania, occasioned Burgoine's disaster, causing him to surrender to the New Englanders at Saratoga, on the 18th of Oct., with his whole army of men, under certain conditions which, however, were very cleverly nullified, so that they were really lost to England. This fatal blow became the cause of protracted war, since France thereupon recognized the independence of the Americans and undertook to aid them. Gen'l Howe landed in Elk River on the 11th of Sept., defeated Washington on the Brandwein, and took possession of Philadelphia on the 26th of Sept. On the 4th of Oct., the Americans again came off second-best in an engagement in Germantown; again they became very depressed and dispirited; however, fortunately for them, Gen'l Howe did not favor pursuit and extermination.

With September 77, a season of particular suffering began for Bethlehem. Early in the month, we were notified that the War Board had issued an order to place 250. British prisoners with their guard in Bethlehem. Quartermaster Hooper, Lieutenant of the County J. Wetzel, Deshler, etc., arrived and inspected the buildings; they wanted to expel the Sing. Brethren, but finally chose the large Family House in the center of the square for this purpose. On the 3rd of Sept., we petitioned the War Board to relieve us of this burden, Ettwein, Dencke,[41] and John Bonn[41] signing. Thereupon we received the following reply:

War Office Sept. 5th 1777.

Gentlemen, The Board have received a Representation from you on Behalf of the Inhabitants of Bethlehem. They are extreamly sorry that any Inconveniences should arise from the executing of an Order of

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[40] The Herrnhut MS adds: "(owing to the jealousy of two colonels, the guilty one of whom fell shortly after.)"

[41] For biographical note see page 279.

theirs relative to the Prisoners to be stationed at Bethlehem. But the Necessity of the Case requires the Measure & the good People of your Town must endeavour to reconcile the Matter as well as they can.— If the Guards or Persons employed misbehave themselves, any Grievance the Inhabitants complain of on this Account will be immediately redressed and as soon as Circumstances will admit the Prisoners will be removed. Richard Peters, Secr.

On the 7th of Sept., more than 200. Scots and other prisoners marched into Bethlehem with their guards.

On the 24th[42] came an order, from Washington they said, to transfer all military stores from French-Creek to Bethlehem; with them arrived all the heavy supplies of the army, some 700 waggons in one day; in a single night they destroyed our buckwheat and our fences. The escort was composed of the worst riff-raff from Virginia and N. Carolina under command of Col. Polk of N. Carolina.

On the 19th of Sept., we received the following communication through Doct'r Jackson:

It gives me great Pain to be obliged by Order of Congress to send my Sick and wounded Soldiers to your peaceable Village, but so it is. Your large Buildings must be appropriated for their Use. We will want Room for 2000. at Bethlehem, Easton, Northampton & you may expect them on Saturday or Sunday—these are dreadful Times, Consequences of unnatural Wars—I am truly concerned for your Society and wish sincerely this Stroke could be averted but 'tis impossible. Wm. Shippen.

Dr. Jackson insisted on having the Sing. Brethren's House vacated, and we did not have the courage to refuse. Therefore, on the 20th of Sept., the Sing. Brethren vacated their desecrated Choir sanctuary, which for 9 months became a sewer of impurities. Part of the Brethren moved to Nazareth and Christiansbrunn, the rest were accommodated in various homes in Bethlehem. (See the watchword.)[43]

It was manifestly providential for Bethlehem that Gen'l Howe did not push his victory over Washington, for, had he pursued him, Washington would have withdrawn with his army to Bethlehem; all plans had been made for this. General Kalb

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[42] This date is entered in pencil.

[43] The watchword for Sept. 20, 1777: "If God be for us, who can be against us?" Rom. 8:31.

and other French engineers had examined the area carefully; indeed, it was reported that one part of the army was to cross the Lecha,[33] Col. Polk having ordered that none of the baggage or stores were to be left on the south side of the Lecha. Thus God averted greater mischief from us and enabled us to be confident and cheerful throughout the lesser. G'l Washington's baggage remained at Bethlehem until Christmas.

With the hospital, the gentlemen from Congress also came to Bethlehem, one by one;[44] so, too, the wounded Marquis La Fayete,[45] General Woodford, Col. Armstrong, etc. It seemed as though the world would ingulf us. Since the surgeons and doctors connected with the hospital had repeatedly intimated that they would require another of the large buildings, hinting at the Widows' House or the Sing. Sisters' House, Br. Ettwein took the opportunity, on the 22nd of Sept., as he was escorting the gentlemen from Congress through Bethlehem, to speak to them in the Sing. Sisters' House concerning this and to solicit their protection. They said at once: "These houses must be kept sacred!" And, upon the request of our friend, H. Laurens,

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[44] The Herrnhut MS here inserts: "Some by direct route and others, *e. g.* Hankok and the Adamses, etc., had travelled, for fear, with their archives by way of Trenton on the other side of the Delaware and Easton, under guard of several hundred men." In the *Diary of John Adams* (*The Works of John Adams*, vol. II, pages 439 f) Adams gives us this account of his stay in Bethlehem:
"23. Tuesday. [Sept. 1777] Mr. Okeley, Mr. Hassey, and Mr. Edwine came to see me. Mr. Edwine showed us the Children's meeting, at half after eight o'clock; music, consisting of an organ, and singing in the German language. Mr. Edwine gave a discourse in German, and then the same in English. Mrs. Langley showed us the Society of Single Women; then Mr. Edwine showed us the water works and the manufactures;—there are six sets of works in one building; a hemp-mill, an oil-mill, a mill to grind bark for the tanners; then the fullers-mill, both of cloth and leather, the dyer's house, and the shearer's house. They raise a great deal of madder. We walked among the rows of cherry trees, with spacious orchards of apple trees on each side of the cherry walk. The Society of Single Men have turned out for the sick.
24. Wednesday. Fine morning. We all went to meeting, last evening, where Mr. Edwine gave the people a short discourse in German, and the congregation sung, and the organ played. There were about two hundred women and as many men; the women sat together in one body, and the men in another; the women dressed all alike; the women's heads resembled a garden of white cabbage heads."

[45] Lafayette later obliged the Moravians by carrying a packet of mail for them to France and forwarding it to Herrnhut from there. E.P. No. 828.

Richard Henry Lee wrote the following on a piece of paper:

Bethlehem Sept. 22nd 1777.

Having here observed a human & diligent Attention to the Sick & Wounded and a benevolent Desire to make the necessary Provision for the Relief of the Distressed as far as the Powers of the Brethren enable them,

We desire that all Continental Officers may refrain from disturbing the Persons or Property of the Moravians in Bethlehem, and particularly that they do not disturb or molest the Houses where the Women are assembled. Given under our Hands at the Time & Place above mentioned

John Hancock	Rich'd Henry Lee
Samuel Adams	Henry Laurens
Ja's Duane	Wm. Duer
Nathanael Brownson	Conr'd Harnett
Nathanael Folsom	Benj. Harrison
Richard Law	Jos. Jones
Eliphalet Dyer	John Adams
Henry Merchant	Wm. Williams

Delegates to Congress.

This protective document rendered us important service; for, whenever anyone began to grow rough, a casual reference could be made to do it, or it would be shown him; and that always had good effect.

The New Englanders and Eastern delegates would only too gladly have remained in Bethlehem; they promised that the hospital, the prisoners, and all the rest should be removed immediately; that they would content themselves with a moderate amount of space and not disturb us in any way. Br. Ettwein, however, stedfastly insisted that it would be impossible to accommodate them;[46] H. Laurens took his part and finally won over the Virginians. Quite suddenly, they left for Reading, whence they went to Lancaster; and, since they did not consider themselves safe there, they assembled in Yorktown. In the meantime, Congress had relieved us by ordering the artificers and the laboratory in which they made cartridges, fixed case-shot, and the like, from Bethl. to Allenstown, and the British

[46] The idea of making Bethlehem the seat of Congress was still under consideration as late as in 1780. See *The Proposition To Make Bethlehem, Penn'a, the Seat of Government in 1780* in *The Penn'a Magazine of History and Biography*, vol II, pages 153-156; also E.P. Nos. 96 and 1565.

prisoners back to Lancaster. It had been thought that the English would advance on Lancaster, and the prisoners had been sent away thence on that account. But since this did not happen, they were first sent thither again and then, because the Assembly sat in Lancaster, to Libanon and Carlisle.

That winter, some 17. thousand English troops were in and about Philadelphia.[47] It was estimated that over 20. thousand people had fled from Philad. and 23. thousand had remained there. Washington's army built itself huts upon a hill, some 20. miles away, headquarters being in Valley Forge.

Since very few people had conformed to the Test Act, a Supplement to it was passed on the 12th of Oct. In it the age was fixed at 16. years instead of 18. Moreover, should one or more witnesses denounce an individual as being hostile to the freedom and independence of the country, he was to be summoned by warrant before a justice and by him required to take the test; should he refuse, he was to be imprisoned, even though he had not left the county in which he resided. But when even this had little effect, it was proposed to confiscate the estates of all who would not take the test.

W. Henry, of Lancaster, where the Assembly sat, pointed out the danger of this and advised the Brethren to present a petition as soon as possible. In it they should attest their submission to the present rule and briefly explain the reason why they could not abjure the King; namely, that this might result in great disadvantage to the missionary undertaking of the Brethren in countries under English sovereignty; the Brethren might hope for leniency upon this point in view of this. The matter was considered in a meeting of the entire Prov. H. Conference, on the 4th of Dec. We reminded ourselves that our dear Saviour had at different times under present conditions already directed[48] us to remain quiet, and had faithfully held His mighty hand over us; so that, hitherto, we have truly had more cause for praise and thanks than for complaint, despite all the trouble

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[47] The Herrnhut MS adds: "It had taken the British a long time until they finally got so far with their ships and occupied Mud-Island and the Redbank forts."

[48] By means of the lot.

we experienced, trouble under which the whole country sighs. According to the sentiments of a majority of the members of the board, that decided the matter at once; they determined to continue to maintain at this juncture the silence we had observed hitherto. *Some* thought that such a declaration could have serious consequences, which could best be avoided by committing directly to the Saviour the protection of His work in this land. *Others* urged that hitherto such directions had been received only with regard to special circumstances and that they should not prevent us from turning for refuge to the counsel and guidance of our d. Lord, when the situation demanded it; that this was now the more imperative, since various Brethren had already expressed a wish that something might be done in the matter, because their worldly fortune would be endangered; that, unless we could point to the Lord's bidding in justification of the course we followed, we would not be able satisfactorily to explain it either to them or to the Unity's Board or Directors, should unfavorable consequences ensue, in view of the fact that their estates were also entrusted to the local administration. The board, therefore, unanimously resolved to implore our d. Lord's gracious guidance in the matter, and also to commend this procedure to the prayer of our communicant members the day before, so that they might look to the Saviour to direct the counsels of His servants in this matter entirely according to His will and purpose.

It was agreed to inquire as to the *"whether?"* first of all. Only if He would graciously approve this, would we take the *"how?"* under mature deliberation. The lots were *1.* "The— approves, that we should make some representation to the Assembly in the matter." *2. "The Saviour prefers that we should do nothing in the matter now."* There was to be no—[blank lot]. The second was drawn, and the communicant members were notified of this without delay the same evening. In the Speaking[49] in preparation for the communion which followed,

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[49] Prior to each celebration of the Holy Communion, as well as on other stated occasions, each member of the Moravian Church was expected to have a personal, private interview with his pastor, in which the state of his spiritual life and his fitness to partake of the sacrament were discussed. This was known as Speaking.

it became quite evident that *this* counsel was the one they preferred. This was our thought: "He will not permit that to be expected of us which is beyond our endurance." It is an established principle, that inaction leads to the least harmful consequences in such gloomy times and circumstances.

NB. The Schwenkfelders, Separatists, and many others agreed, by means of deputies, in a gathering held at Oley, upon a protest against the test, which they planned to present to the Assembly. They sent it to the Brethren, also, asking them to subscribe to it. Since, in our opinion, it was both moderate and well-founded, we had no misgivings in adding our names to it, thus pleading for a change in the Test-Act among a large group of others, without focusing attention upon ourselves. It was signed by about 1500. people from Berks County, Northampton, and Philad. County. But just when it was to have been presented to the Assembly in Philadelphia, the latter was chased out of the city; the petition, or protest, lay in Germantown when the Eng. came thither and was not presented.

In the last months of the year, 1777, we had much to suffer on the score of militia and substitutes. All male white persons, agede 18 - 53. (judges, clergymen, and servants excepted), were inscribed and enrolled and divided into 8. classes, which were to take the field in turn, as circumstances should direct. Should any refuse to go in person and fail to send a suitable man in his place within 3. days after being notified, the county lieutenant (or locum tenens, as he was called) was to hire a man for him as cheaply as possible, notifying the culprit of the amount due plus expenses, and compel him to pay; for each day on which they failed to drill, they were to pay 5. sh. [shillings] (10. days each year) and on 2. occasions 7/6 [seven shillings six pence]. This gave opportunity for much corruption; the lieutenants said to the people: "This is your chance to make money; I need a man for — and for —; ask as much as you please, they have to pay it," etc. The drill money was rigorously collected, and several of our Brethren got warrants: the form follows:

Northampton County, ss.

To any Constable of the same.

Summon A. B. that he appear before us the Subscribers two of the Justices of the Peace for said County, on the first Day of Nov. at 10. o'clock in the Forenoon at the House of Jonas Hertzel[11] in Bethlehem Township to answer John Wetzel Esq'r Lieutenant of the County aforesaid in the Sum of 52£ 1 sh. 6 p., besides 20 Shill. Expences by him the said Lieutenant expended in procuring a Substitute in the—Class of the Militia of the—Batt. of the County aforesaid in the Place of the said A. B. agreeable to an Act of General Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania in that Case made & provided. Given under our Hands & Seals, this 25th Day of Oct'r 1777. J. Arndt, Th's Sillmann.

They appeared and made their appeal; but no consideration was given to their claim that they could not pay, that they had been deprived of their dwelling place and their occupation, that they had been infected with fever from the hospital, etc. They were told: "You must pay or be put in prison until the money is forthcoming." And they had to swallow derision and threats besides.

In Litiz, a number of armed men fell upon the Sing. Brethren at their noonday meal and led away 14. Brethren as prisoners from that settlement to Lancaster; there, however, they were treated more kindly and soon set free again. For, on the 21st of Oct., when this happened, the doctrinal text read: "*Beloved brethren, hold the traditions which ye were taught*" [II Thess. 2:15]. Nowhere were the Brethren so harshly treated with regard to fines, as in Northampton County; it was repeatedly said that the Associators had been encouraged to commit mischief in Bethlehem, or, as they put it, "to play the Devil!" But many have also confessed, that, though they would come into the settlement with such intentions, they lost all courage and all malice at the sight of it and were unable to carry out what they had planned to do.

In Sept., 120. dragoon mounts belonging to Col. Bland's and White's Virginian Horse and a number of men were quartered in Christiansbrunn and Gnadenthal; they made a practice of thieving. General Woodford, to whom Br. Ettwein complained, soon secured an order from General Washington for them to leave the place.

In October, clothing was everywhere gathered for the army;

they broke open people's chests and took their cloth and linen, giving them receipts in exchange. General Woodford had ordered the same to be done in Bethlehem, but permitted us to do the best we could in this and was content with our small contribution and our assurances. On 3 or 4 occasions, upon request, we begged blankets from our people for the soldiers and distributed them among the needy.[50] Similarly, shoes, stockings, old pants, etc. for convalescent patients, whose clothing had been stolen in the hospital or who had brought nothing with them but a pair of torn trousers full of lice.

In December, many additional patients arrived in Bethlehem on open carts from Jersey, miserable and naked in the snow and rain. From Christmas to New Year, there were more than 700. persons in the Sing. Brethren's House. Very many died there, particularly in the upper stories, where the stench and the filth were bad indeed.[51] The Brethren Ettwein and Friis[52] tirelessly ministered consolation to the sick, and had the joy, also, of seeing results from this.

The Directors apparently did not wish us to know how many died (in the former winter the Brethren had made the coffins and dug the graves, 110. being buried then; this winter soldiers attended to it); but according to our observation, about 300. occupants of the Brethren's House were buried, many Virginians.

Many Single Brethren who had duties in the vicinity of the

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[50] *Colonial Records-Minutes of Provincial Council of Penn'a*, vol. X, page 553 records one such occasion: "The Sisterhood of Bethlehem having presented this Board with a quantity of Linen Rags, for the benefit of such as may be wounded in the service of their Country, *Resolved*, That this instance of their Humanity be thankfully acknowledged."

[51] For substantiation of this statement by Ettwein, see the communication of William Shippen to the Director General of Congress, dated Bethlehem, Nov. 12, 1777, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol. V page 768.

[52] John Jacob Friis [Fries], born in Odense, Denmark, May 4, 1708, and died in Bethlehem, Aug. 28, 1793. He had studied theology in Copenhagen and taught in the Moravian Theological Seminary at Barby, Germany, prior to coming to this country, in 1753. He served in various capacities, particularly among the Single Brethren, in Wachovia and later in the North. During the early months of the Revolution he was recalled to Bethlehem from Philadelphia because of the ardor with which he had taken up the American cause; the authorities of the Church wanted to keep him under their eyes. See E.P. No. 871.

house, became infected with camp fever and died of it.[53]

1778. Because Mr. Henry Laurens, of Charlestown, in South-Carolina, had carried on friendly intercourse and correspondence with Br. Ettwein and others for many years past and had proved himself a true friend during his stay in Bethlehem, and we now saw from the newspapers that he had been elected President of Congress, therefore Br. Ettwein wrote to him on the 15th of Jan. as follows:

To Henry Laurens Esq'r
Honored & dear Sir,

Tho' I am sure that your Time in your present high Station must be very precious & all the Faculties of your Mind fully imployed in the Concerns of the United States; I must nevertheless trouble you with a Representation of the Sufferings of a few Individuals, which are very dear & near to me & I doubt not you will, if it is in your Power, try to get some Relief for them.

The Brethrens-Church settled in America in full Confidence to enjoy compleat Liberty of Conscience; to promote their Settle—& to encourage their at a certain Period persecuted Brethren in Germany, to go to America; The Parliament of Gr. Br. in the Year 1749. granted them an Act: That they should be exempted from serving personally in War & that their Affirmation shall be taken instead of an Oath. (Since that, other Powers have granted the same Priviledges they had here) and the Brethren in their different Settlements lived very happy in the Enjoyments of their Rights until of late, when by the Operation of several Militia Laws & Resolves a Number of them have been continually harrassed on Account of their Principle, of not bearing Arms, they have been repeatedly fined & threatened to be carried by Force into the Camp; they were charged for Substitutes in the first Class £26. a Man & £53. in the following Classes. They made their Appeal, that they were not able to pay such Sums, & represented how much they had suffered by being turned out of their House, Trades & usual Occupations, which has been also the Cause of a great Sickness amongst them, the spotted Fever which spread from the Hospital & of which several died (amongst them my best & dearest Son 20 Years old). But the Lieutenants of the County, did regard no Plea of any of our Single Men, on Account of Inability of Estate. Pay! or go to Prison! was all the Comfort. Yea when the Constable with the Warrant came to carry them to Prison if he did not pay, the Steward of the Single Men & another of our Brethren engaged to pay for them, but desired

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[53] A letter from Lewis Nicola to Pres. Wharton, dated Easton, Jan. 22, 1778, contains the information that the health of the prisoners in Bethlehem also was not good. See *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol. VI, page 197.

Patience until the Accounts which we have against the Publick, should be paid; instead of an Answer, the Constable returned to execute his Warrant & received the Money collected by Charity. By this we can know, what we have to expect, from the late Supplement to the Militia Law in this State; we must either pay £40 for every one noted down in the different Classes or must let them go 4. Months to prison, to which every one will rather submit, then go with the Militia.

What we have paid & shall be forced to pay soon for the first Turn of the several Classes, here only & at Nazareth, is at least £2000.

And the Damage done to our Farmers, Single Men & other Inhabitants these last 4 Months, cannot be made good with £1500.

And above all this, Men to whom we should look for Protection, have threatened to carry the B'rn to Prison & to destroy their Settlements if they would not abjure the King. One of our Bishops[54] has been denied a Pass to go into Jersey, to visit a Congregation.

We know how to take all our Sufferings with an humble Heart and are confident of Gods Help, in his Time. But as the Lord makes Use of Men, as well to save & to relieve the Oppressed, as to punish evil Doers, & I felt a Freedom in my Heart to lay our Situation before you, as a Friend, I thought: Perhaps the Lord will incline the Hearts of Congress (who have been so kind and good to give us a Sort of Protection on the 22nd of Sept. last for Bethlehem which has been very useful to us in these Times) to consider the Situation of the Brethren, in this & the other States, where they have Settlements & to grant them a Protection for their Persons & Property until a final Settlement between England & America is effected.

We will by the Grace of God seek the Welfare of this Country, as long as we live in it & bless them that curse us; we will do nothing either directly nor indirectly against the United States. If we may not be treated as Freemen and Citizens of the States, we are content with the Priviledge of Sojourners, who look out for a better Home. As long as we are protected we will pay Taxes & bear our Part of the public Burthen, as far as we are able. At the End of this Calamity, it will be Time for the Brethren to ask, on what Terms, they shall enjoy the Fruit of their Industry or for what, they shall leave it to others? Many of the Brethren have before now forsaken their All for Christ's Sake, and I am sure the greatest Part of us, will rather part with all, what is dear to them, than part with Liberty of Conscience, so long as there is a Corner in the World, where it may be had.

We don't like to let our Brethren lie idle in a Prison, but how can we help it? We have saved some for a while by Charity & may save others by contracting Debts & at last they must submit to it nevertheless, if they do not make an Escape, to our Loss & Sorrow; and what gains the Country by it, if a Number of sober industrious young Men

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[54] Bishop Nathanael Seidel. See Bethlehem Diary, Nov. 24, 1777.

lie in Prison 4-8 Months in a Year or try to get out of the Reach of their Oppressors? There is not one of the Brethren, that I know, who does not do Something for the Service of others; yea our Shoemakers, Bakers, the several Smiths, Tanners, Stocking-Weavers & Farmers have been these 4 Months chiefly employed for the Use of the Soldiers & others belonging the Continental Service.

I fear D'r Sir this my Confidential Letter will give you Uneasiness & Trouble of Mind, without knowing how to mend our Case; If it is so, Pray! burn it! and recommend us in your Prayers to God and his Divine Grace.

Wishing you the Wisdom from above & all what you need for your present Station & all desireable Blessings to make you happy in the new Year.

I am
Honored Sir
with Love & Respect
your humble Serv't
J. E.

Early in the morning of the 25th of Jan., I received the following reply by the hand of a courier who had been sent by Congress to Boston.

Yorktown the 22nd of Jan. 1778.

Reverend and Dear Sir,

The Perusal of your very affecting Letter under the 15th Instant, which I received only this Evening, drew Tears from my Heart and I am the more anxious on your Account because I perceive not much in my Power to relieve you, but this you may rely on, I will do every Thing I can for that Purpose; I have but a Moment as it were to write, but I could not miss the very first Opportunity, to disclose my Feelings for your suffering Society.

The best present Advice I can give, is to represent your Case in a Memorial & Petition or call it an humble Representation—to the State of Pennsylvania & to Congress.—Redress must flow from the former, the latter may & I hope will in some Measure interpose on your Behalf; I will not fail to engage some of the Members in your Favour, I know many of them were disposed to shew you every Proof of their good Will, when we were at Bethlehem, but unfortunately the most valuable of these are now absent.—Excuse this my hasty Address, I have told you why more Leisure had not been taken—and believe that I love and and esteem your self my dear Sir & your Brethren, whom I believe to be the sincere Disciples of our common Saviour, more than I can express. Believe me that as an Individual I am heartily inclined to do every Thing to serve you that you would attempt to require.

I am

with true Affection & Esteem
Rev'd Sir your faithful Servant
Henry Laurens.

I thereupon wrote him the following, on the 29th of Jan.

Honoured & D'r Sir,

I received your very kind Letter of the 22nd the 25th Inst: early, your friendly & affectionate Expressions, made me almost repent of my Openness to you, in my Letter of the 15th I thank you most heartily for your good Advice & good Will to stand our Friend, wherever you can. I am convinced that an humble Representation of our Case to Congress & the State of Pennsylvania, is the only Way, to seek some Redress, but we could hitherto not agree upon it & if we do any Thing solemnly or publickly, we should like to do it, in a chearful Harmony & in Concert with our Congregations in N. Carolina & the Jerseys, in Faith & not wavering; some have proposed an Address to the Assembly, others are still for dumb Suffering until we have a better Prospect, to find a Hearing. Some make it a Question whether even a public Resolve of Congress & an Ordinance of the Government of this State, in Favour of our Settlements, would not stir up the Malice of some, to be, if possible, more active against us.

Tho' the Laws are hard & severe, if the Execution of them was only with some Moderation and Humanity in Regard to the Brethren, we should have bore all with Patience.

Perhaps a private Recommendation to the President of this State, to recommend it privately to the Officers of the Counties of Northampton & Lancaster to treat the Brethren with some Lenity & to protect them, if need be, against all unlawful and riotous Proceedings, would for the present be sufficient & give us Relief in this County.

To shew by our Life and Conversation, that we love and fear God & that we desire to be true and faithful Disciples of our Lord & Saviour J. Christ, is the main Point of our Unity, tho' we see ourselves in all Respects very Imperfect, we believe for all, that He in his Mercy owns us as his Brethren & we know that all Things work together for good, to them that love God.

I pray dear Sir be not troubled on our Account. If the Brethren sometime hence should find it unavoidable to trouble the Government of this State & the Congress with a Representation of this Case, I will make free to write to you again. As I thought it my Duty to acknowledge the Receit of your Favour I could not omit to trouble you again for a few Minutes with a few Lines from

Honored & D'r Sir
Your

In the month of Dec., the Continental Hospital was ordered to Lancaster-County, and Litiz also got a section of it; from

Dec. 19, 77, to Aug. 28, 78, the Sing. Brethren there too were compelled to vacate their house for the benefit of the sick soldiers and live scattered throughout the town.

When Dr. Shippen, the Director of the Hospital, came to Bethlehem on the 23rd of March and Br. Ettwein visited him to request that the Sing. Brethren's House be completely cleared, he said with apparent embarrassment: "I am very unhappy, that I must make you so much Trouble & bring you repeatedly such disagreeable News; there is now Something again in Agitation, which I know will give you Pain.—We are now treating with General Howe on a Cartel, in which certain Priviledges for the Hospitals on both Sides, will be established, and if this is effected, we shall want a convenient Place for a fixed Hospital and I knew no better to propose than Litiz." He said that we had such fine large buildings, that we lived together like one big family, that the Lititz folk could live in Nazareth and Bethlehem, that all damages should be made good to them, etc. Br. Ettwein was very much startled by this proposal and replied: "Dr. Shippen! I understand that the General has been altogether misinformed by you, and I consider it to be our duty to send him more reliable information concerning the Brethren and Litiz in particular!" He replied: he had nothing against this. And he [Ettwein] wrote to General Washington on March 25, 1778, as follows:

To His Excellency General Washington.

Sir,

Being informed by Dr. Shippen the Director General of the Military Hospitals of an Intention or Proposal to fix the General Hospital at Letiz, one of the Settlements of the United Brethren eight miles from Lancaster and that he gave it as his Opinion, that in the Case the Inhabitants of said Letiz might be moved to Bethlehem & Nazareth. And finding said Proposition founded upon Misinformation & a very wrong Notion of the Constitution of these Infant Settlements of the United Brethren, commonly called Moravians,

I humbly beg Leave to give your Excellency a short & true Description of the Brethren Settlements in general and of Letiz in particular.

The Brethrens-Church in Germany with a View to propagate the Gospel among the Heathens & to plant a Nursery of Missionaries to the Indians & Negoes, as also to provide one or more Places where their here & there dispersed & persecuted Members might find Rest & Liberty of Conscience did in the Year 1736 send a Number of their Members

to make a Settlement in Georgia, where the Trustees had promised them all Indulgence in Regard to their particular Principles; but being very ill treated by the Populace on Account of the War with the Spaniards, they left Georgia, moved to Pennsylvania & begun this Place called Bethlehem in the Forks of Delaware 1741. Their Poverty & the wild State of these Parts, made them deny many Conveniences of of this Life & they lived in Simplicity & brotherly Love as one Family, worked all for the Benefit of the Whole & desired Nothing but Food & Raiment; If one or the other had some private Property, he deposited it or disposed of it, as he pleased, for his own Interest, for there was no Communion of Goods, tho' it appeared so.

In this Way they began several other Settlements; but finding more & more Difficulties to go on in this Oeconomy, it was by common Consent altered in the Year 1762. So that all who had a Mind to carry on their Art or Trade and usual Occupation, for their own Emolument, were assisted to do it. The Steward of the Single Brethren in their Name & Behalf, became Debitor for the Debts of the House and Stocks in their Profession so did the Single Sisters with their House.

To encourage & support Honesty & fair Dealing, the Tavern, Mill & Merchant Store, were reserved for the Benefit of the Society & a few others who required a large Stock & great Risque were also left to it; each Branch bears its Expences, as Salaries, Rents & Interest of the Stocks &c. And the yearly Gain or Overplus is appropriated to the Funds for maintaining the Ministers, Schools, Missionaries old & infirm and their Widows, Orphans & Children of Missionaries.

In this oeconomical Regulation we lived very happy in brotherly Love & Union and enjoyed the Blessing of God attending it. But it has been the Cause of two very erroneous Opinions or Ideas in the Mind of Strangers, concerning these Settlements, of very grievous Consequences for them, viz: As if they were still as one Family & as if they were very rich. Both are great Mistakes, if taken in a natural Sense; for every Congregation and every Family & private Person has to take Care of itself, so as it is customary in other Places, tho' we do help & assist each other a little more than is now a Days customary. All the monies for transporting so many Hundreds from the inner Parts of Germany to America, to buy the Lands & great Sums expended in Building & providing Stocks have been borrowed & very little paid off.

In the Year 1757 upon the Request of some Friends a little Town was laid out in Lancaster County & called Letiz (in remembrance of the Place, where just 300 Years before the first Brethren's Settlement was begun by some true Followers of John Huss in Bohemia) Some Tradesmen were settled there; with borrowed Money they built three good fine Houses, one with a Hall where they can have Divine Service, till they shall be able to build another Place of publick Worship. This House has besides the Hall a few Rooms, where one of our Bishops and the Minister of the Place dwell. On one Side of it the Single

Brethren & on the other the Single Sisters built Houses on their own Account; as well the Single Men, as the Single Women in these Houses have their own separate Oeconomy, each House has two Persons to take Care of their temporal & spiritual Welfare; each Person residing in the House, is paid for its Labour & pays weekly a certain Sum for Boarding & Lodging to the House Oeconomy, the yearly Profit in that Oeconomy is for the Sick & Superannuated or others who cannot earn a Livelihood. All the other Houses in said Letiz, except the Tavern & a House where a Shopkeeper lives, about 18 in Number, are the Property of private families, who built and fitted them convenient for their several Trades and Occupations, amongst them are 2 Tanners 1 White Smith 1 Gun Smith 1 Organ Builder, 1 Skinner, the Rest Shoemakers, Weavers, &c.

The Single Brethren were turned out of their well regulated Oeconomy & different Trades & their House to their great Inconvenience & Damage converted into a Hospital, which is also the Case of those in Bethlehem. Should your Excellency agree to Dr. Shippens Proposal, 300 Souls would be inexpressibly distressed and the Single Brethren & Sisters & all the Families at Letiz, by their Removal, would be entirely ruined in their Property, their useful Occupations, to the Loss of the Publick, would we [be] stopped & it would be impossible to accommodate them with Lodgings at Bethlehem & Nazareth, where we are so crowded together that it is a great Hindrance to our lawful Callings, wherein we provided for ourselves & served the Publick.

I pray therefore most humbly in the Name of the Bishop & Elders of the United Brethren that your Excellency would please to grant to the Brethrens Settlements in the Forks of Delaware & at Letiz near Lancaster & at Hope in Sussex County, West Jersey, Protection for their Persons & Property against all such oppressive & destructive Measures.

It is our Duty to comfort & to help, as far as we are able, all the Distressed & to serve the Publick in our Callings wherever we can, we do so, as long as we live.

Recommending your Excell: to Gods Favour and Protection, I am with deepest Respect

your Excellency's
most humble Servant,
John Ettwein.

Bethlehem
March 25th, 1778.

Since Dr. Shippen and others had put the blame on this good man[55] for all that had happened to us in the past, this opportunity to give him an idea of our circumstances was all the more welcome to us. His answer follows:

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[55] For other indications of Ettwein's favorable opinion of George Washington, see page 223.

Sir, Head Quarters. 28 March 1778.

I have received your letter of the 25th Inst: by Mr. Hasse:[56] Setting forth the Injury, that will be done to the Inhabitants of Letiz, by establishing a General Hospital there.—It is needless to explain, how essential an Establishment of this Kind is, to the Welfare of the Army, and you must be sensible, that it cannot be made any where without occasioning Inconvenience, to some Set of People or other.—At the same Time it is ever my Wish and Aim, that the public Good be effected, with as little Sacrifice as possible for individual Interests.—And I would by no Means sanction the imposing any Burthens on the People in whose Favour you remonstrate, which the public Service does not require. The Arrangement and Distribution of Hospitals depends entirely on Dr. Shippen, and I am persuaded that he will not exert the Authority vested in him unnecessarily to your Prejudice. It would be proper however to represent to him the Circumstances of the Inhabitants of Letiz; & you may if you choose it, communicate the Contents of this Letter to him. I am Sir

Your most obed't Serv't
G. Washington

Since Col. John Laurens, son of Henry L., was G'l W.'s adjutant, Br. Ettwein accompanied his communication with a letter to him recommending Br. Hasse, who travelled to the General for the purpose. He [Laurens] delivered the communication, attended to the reply, adding a friendly and polite letter of his own in which he says: that all this was only a remote idea of Dr. Shippen's and depended on conditions which, in all probability, would not materialize.[57]

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[56] John Christian Hasse, born April 27, 1740 at Ebersdorf, Germany, died June 24, 1797 in Bethlehem. He was trained in the Moravian College at Barby, did secretarial work in Germany, and, in 1767, entered mission service in Jamaica, W.I. In 1771, he came to Bethlehem and was again given secretarial work to do.

[57] In the Herrnhut MS Ettwein quotes the letter as follows:
"Dear Sir,

I have received your Favour of the 25th by Mr. Hassen and presented the Letter which he brought for His Excellency—The Plan of establishing a General Hospital at Litiz which seems to have occasioned you so much uneasiness, was only a remote Idea as far as I can learn of Dr. Shippens—and depends upon circumstances which are not likely to happen. You must be sensible that Establishments of this kind are essential to the Welfare of the Army.—It gave me great Pleasure to hear from Mr. Hasse that you & the Rest of your Society with whom I was acquainted are in good Health.—It would make me happy to contribute to the Good of so worthy a People—but my Powers unhappily extend no farther than good Wishes can avail.

I am with great Respect
Dear Sir
Your most obed't serv't
John Laurens"

That the enemy cherished evil designs against Litiz was quite apparent; and he had grounds enough to become its accuser. But our dear Saviour graciously warded off this ruin.

Br. Matthew [Bishop Hehl] wrote the following, on the 19th of April:

To the Director General of Military Hospitals Dr. Shippen at Manheim.

Sir

Being informed in a letter from Mr. Ettwein in Bethlehem—that there is a Proposal on the Carpet, to fix the General Hospital here at Litiz, with the Intention to remove all the Inhabitants to Bethlehem & Nazareth supposed to be all one Family. I confess & you yourself must be sensible, that the bare hearing such a Proposal must give me & our poor little Flock the utmost Horror & Anxiety: And should it be carried into Execution, will inevitably involve us in Distress and Ruin.—

His Excellency G'l Washington in his Answer to Mr. Ettweins Representation has been pleased to say, that the Arrangement & Distribution of the Hospitals depended entirely upon you, Sir. We therefore humbly beg Leave confiding in your Uprightness & Goodness, to address ourselves to you & beseech you, to take the following into your Consideration.

First: That by such a Removal near 300 Souls would be inexpressibly distressed, that the Single Brethren Single Sisters & all the Families at Litiz by such a Removal would be entirely ruined in their Property & their useful Occupations to the great Loss of the Publick stopped.

Further, That it is impossible, to accomodate such a number of poor Exiles at Bethlehem and Nazareth. Bethlehem has these 2 Years evacuated & lent their best Buildings to the Use of the Army & other public Services, which we have done likewise here in Litiz since last Winter & are willing further to do, what is not Impossibility.

We beg further to consider, how oppressive the Measure and how unequal a Burthen is laid upon us by proposing the Removal of a whole Congregation & Settlement of faithful & serviceable Persons at once & by that Means bringing them to Distress and Ruin—and on the other Hand sparing others, that are capable of bearing a proportionable Share of such inevitable Burthens.

We beg to consider that our Commune, as well as each of the Inhabitants, are as yet greatly in Debt, for their Buildings, Improvements, &c. & such a removal & Cessation of all our Trades & lawful Callings would render us incapable to satisfy our Creditors, as we used to do—

We beseech you, Sir, have Mercy on so many weak & feeble Women & innocent Children & do not disturb them in their honest Living & Occupations or their due Education. Do not draw upon the Tears & Sighings of so many helpless Ones, by destroying their orderly Maintenance & Housekeeping, without any urgent Necessity.

Pray, Sir, have Mercy on us all & spare a Set of honest inocent People from such an enormous Oppression who are ready and willing to support the common Burthen, which at present lies upon us, as far as lies in our Power.

As it depends on your Goodness, I repose my Confidence in you, Sir, that you will not exert the Authority vested in you to our Prejudice. Blessed are the merciful for they shall obtain Mercy.

I am

Sir your m.h. Serv't
Matthew Hehl
in the Name & in Behalf
of the Congregation of Litiz.

The answer read:

Sir,

I am so much affected, at the very Thoughts of distressing a Society, I have so great an Esteem for, that you may depend on it, I will not put in Execution the Proposal of removing the Inhabitants of Litiz, unless cruel Necessity urges; which at present, I don't imagine will be the Case; If we should fix the General Hospital & take more Room in your Village, it shall be done in a Manner the least disagreeable and distressing to your Flock, that is possible, of which I will consult you. I am Sir

your & the Congregations
affectionate & very h. Serv't
Wm. Shippen jun'r

Manheim 9. Apr.
1778

Since the constant removal of the Hospital, occasioned by the retreat of the army, had cost the lives of many men and much money, and no proper arrangements could be effected, an effort was made to secure from both sides certain privileges for the Gen'l Hospital, for the sick and for the supplies, and then to designate a certain place for it.[58]

Because the English troops had possession of the capital, Philadelphia, and were expected to occupy other places in Pennsylvania, and because the Test-Law of June 13, 1777 had had so very little effect (this much was known, that in the whole of Pennsylvania not more than 4 to 5 thousand inhabitants had voluntarily taken the test) therefore, as already noted, a supplementary law was passed on Oct. 12, 77. Because the age was

[58] The Herrnhut MS adds: "The entire negotiation with Gen'l Howe concerning prisoners fell through, and therewith the plan for the General Hospital. In this manner the Dear Saviour mercifully brought to nought the plan of the enemy to destroy Litiz."

lowered from 18 to 16. years and because many reputable men remained at home, thus offering no opportunity for arrest, therefore it was decreed: that anyone suspected of being ill-disposed toward the freedom and independence of the United States, even though he should not leave the county (some persons were not even allowed to go to church or visit their neighbors) could yet be brought before a justice of peace upon the testimony of one or more witnesses. The justice was to demand that he take the test and, in case of refusal, to throw him into prison without taking security.

And since this had too little effect, though it was rigidly enforced in some places, therefore the Assembly passed a new law on April 1, 78, by means of which it sought to bolster up and support its unstable, violent rule. According to it, all male white persons above 16. years were to abjure King G. III and all his heirs and successors prior to June 1, 1778, swearing allegiance to the Republic of Pennsylvania. Whoever should fail to do this, should be excluded from all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Freemen of the State and forfeit all legal rights; schoolmasters, merchants, apothecaries, doctors, surgeons were not to be allowed to carry on their professions. Non-jurors were to pay double taxes. After the 1st of June, two or more justices of the peace could summon by any constable or officer any individual who had not taken the test and require the oath of him. Should he refuse to take the same, he could be imprisoned for 3. months or be bound over to the next [session of] court and fined, though not above £10. The court could then again require such a prisoner, or one so bound, to take the oath, record his refusal, and banish him from the country within the space of 30. days. This would entail the loss of his personal estate. His real estate, *i.e.* fixed goods and landed property, would pass to his nearest heir, provided the latter would take the oath.

Whoever, prior to the 1st of June, should request permission of the President to sell his estate, might be granted a space of 90. days for this purpose.

This caused much consternation; and the knife was placed at the throat of many.[59]

On the 1st of April a.c. [of the current year], the County Lieutenant, John Wetzel (a backslider)—who had grown up within the Church and had been baptized in it—had 12. persons brought by a guard to Allenstown from the little flock in Emaus with 7. others. There they were locked up together in jail. On the 2nd, this Wetzel sat with some militia officers as a court of inquiry and had the prisoners brought before him. They were asked: whether they had paid their substitute money? Upon which each gave appropriate answer; some had paid. Others said: they had not yet been able to make an appeal! Still others: they would pay as soon as it would be legally required of them. Thereafter each was asked in turn: whether he would take the test? One replied: "Not now." Another: "No!" Others said: "I want to consider about it further." Finally, all 19. were dispatched, under a strong guard, with the following warrant or committment to the jail in Easton:

N. H. County ss.

To the public Prison keeper of N. h. C. at Easton agreeable to an Act of the G. A. of the State of Penns. made for the Purpose of apprehending any Person or Persons disaffected to the Interest & Liberties of this State, We the Subscribers two of the Justices for the said County of Nh. being called on a Court of Enquiry held on the undermentioned Persons do find by the Proceedings of the said Court & other proper

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[59] The Herrnhut MS adds: "But some individuals comforted themselves with the thought that, even were they actually imprisoned, they could still save their estates on appearing before the court a second time and being required to take the test.

The oath of allegiance now exacted, was worded as follows:

'I A. B. do solemnly and sincerely declare and swear or affirm, that the State of Pensilvania is & of right ought to be a free Sovereign & independent State. And I do for ever renounce & refuse all Allegiance, Subjection & obedience to the King or Crown of Gr. Brittain. And I do further swear (or solemnly sincerely & truely declare & affirm) that I never have since the Declaration of Independence directly or indirectly aided, assisted, abetted or in any wise countenanced the King of Gr. Br., his Generals, Fleets or Armys, or their Adherents, in their Claim upon these United States. And that I have ever since the Declaration of the Independence thereof demeaned myself as a faithful Citizen & Subject of this or some one of the United States. And that I will at all Times, maintain & support the Freedom, Sovereignty & Independence thereof.'"

Information made to us, that Jacob Knaus, Abraham Knaus, Martin Leibert, Henry Knaus, George Leibert—Andrew Giering, Frederick Romig, Michael Knaus, Ludwig Andrews, Fred'k Wünsch, John Knaus, George Crist,—are guilty of several Transgressions against the Interest & Liberties of this State in particular in shooting at & wounding one of a Guard sent to secure them. We the said Justices do hereby desire you to take the Bodies of the above mentioned Persons into your Custody & them confine in close Imprisonment without Bail or Mainprize till further Orders, Given under our Hands & Seals the 3rd Day of Apr. 1778.

Peter Trexler—Thos. Hartmann.

No complainant and no witness appeared before this so-called court against anyone.[60] Wetzel himself said to George Leibert and others: "I have never heard any complaint against you; you have always been quiet and peaceful; I pity you, etc." Several members of the court, *e.g.* Deschler said: "We see no cause to send these people to prison." Th's Hartmann, whom they had summoned from the vicinity, did not want to sign the Mittimus; but Mr. Jennings said to him: it was his duty, and he must do it! This he told Mr. Joseph Deane and Arndt,[61] and testified that he knew nothing about their wrongdoings nor of any complainant against them.

These 19. persons were led through Bethlehem like sheep by a pack of wolves;[62] a remarkable degree of affection and sympathy was noticeable everywhere.[63] Now the object of the Brethren's devotion became quite evident. Several friends and members in Bethlehem immediately took what steps they could to free them. Br. Schweiniz conveyed a petition which had been signed by them to the President and his Council in Lancaster; it was turned over to the Chief Judges. They appointed cer-

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[60] The Herrnhut MS adds: "There was not the slightest reason to assign guilt in the shooting to them; it had occurred in another district altogether, and had been done by other persons."

[61] Mr. Joseph Deane and Col. Jacob Arndt were Justices of the County Court in Easton. For an account of Jacob Arndt's life see *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. III, page 99.

[62] The Bethlehem Diary records under the date of April 4, 1778, that the patients in the hospital hooted and jeered at the prisoners until they learned that they were Moravians.

[63] The Herrnhut MS adds: "Each of them had to pay 10£ costs in Allentown. Br. Ettwein visited the mothers, wives, and children of these Brethren in Emmaus. It was affecting to observe that their wives desired only that their husbands might remain firm."

tain Justices for the second hearing. On the 29th of April, when our watchword read: *"That Thy beloved may be delivered, save with Thy right hand"* [Ps. 108:6], these declared the court which had committed them to have been illegal, the prisoners innocent, and sent them home.

This occurrence, however, and the above-mentioned new, cruel law created alarm among the Brethren in various quarters and much deliberation and, doubtless, debates as well. Some seemed to have no scruples against taking the test; others said: it was repugnant to them so that they could not take it voluntarily, but that, in the end, they might not bring themselves to risk their all and cause their dependents want and danger; others were of good courage and declared themselves wholly opposed to yielding in this matter. Some said: that they did not consider suffering in *this* cause to be suffering for the sake of Christ; they worked on others, trying to remove their scruples. Others said: "Even should all of you yield, we will not yield though we should rot in jail! We took up the pilgrim's staff once before to avoid abjuring, and we do not regret it."[64]

On April 28, 1778, a meeting of the board was held in Bethlehem which had been called specially to consider these matters;

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[64] The Herrnhut MS here adds: "'The Test-Act represents constraint of conscience: Congress has declared that the Provinces have committed the justice of their cause to God, and that heaven or the sword is to decide the matter! And that has not yet taken place. The royal troops still are in possession of the capital. Congressional money bears the emblem of a hawk and a heron in combat, with the superscription: *Exitus in Dubio est.* The issue is still in doubt.'

The late ordinarius [Zinzendorf] said on Feb. 25, 1750: 'As for the renunciation of [allegiance to] such and such a person, which was repeatedly demanded, such an enfranchisement—did take place 10 or 12 years ago. It was a great sin, for it was motivated simply by the desire to escape the cross and to promote personal gain, and could not be carried out except by means of unfaithfulness.'

Thus we were now obliged to prove whether we would be, under all circumstances, an honest and upright people, free from falsehood, or would prove vacillating and inconstant folk who let their consciences be influenced by appearances, fear, and temporal advantage. (N.b. Everyone who took the test was compelled to subscribe in a book to the statement that he had taken the oath *voluntarily.* The Justice of Peace had to give him a written certificate of this, stating it had been done *voluntarily,* even though he had forced him to this step by means of harsh imprisonment.)"

Br. Matthew [Hehl] came from Litiz, Br. Lembke[65] and Frederick Peters, Sr.,[66] from Nazareth; from Bethlehem the Brethren Nathanael [Seidel], Ettwein, Paul Münster,[67] Schweiniz, Busse,[68] Dencke,[69] Bonn[70] were present.

After the reading of the minutes and after having thoroughly considered the prescribed test, the members agreed first of all, that the latter was expressed in such terms as to offend the feelings and conscience of a majority of the Brethren. This was true especially of the complete renunciation of the King of Gr. Br., his heirs and successors, both because of our gratitude and inner inclination to this House and present government, under the protection of which we have enjoyed so much good in this land too, and also because of our connection with and relation to the whole Unity of the Brethren, a considerable part whereof, especially of our foreign missions, still remains under the sovereignty of Gr. Br.; to say nothing of the fact that those whose scruples might be removed in this matter, would not willingly do anything to offend a large part of their Brethren and become a stumbling block to them. But since it is and remains our rule to be subject to the authority that has power over us without examining the right by which they exert it, therefore it is self-evident that we neither should

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[65] Francis Christian Lembke, born July 13, 1704, in Baden, died July 11, 1785, in Nazareth. He had attended the universities of Strassburg, Erfurt, and Leipzig, receiving his M. A. from Strassburg in 1725. He came to America in 1754. At this period he was pastor of the Nazareth congregation and principal of Nazareth Hall.

[66] John Frederick Peter, born Aug. 30, 1707, in Brieborn, Silesia, died April 28, 1791, in Bethlehem. Had served as assistant minister in Neusalz, Germany, prior to coming to America in 1761. At this period he was chaplain of the Married People's Choir in Nazareth.

[67] Paul Münster, born July 25, 1716, in Zauchtenthal, Moravia, died Aug. 14, 1792, in Bethlehem. Served the Church as deacon in Holland and England prior to coming to America in 1761. He was, at this period, chaplain of the Married People's Choir in Bethlehem.

[68] Andrew Busse, born Dec. 6, 1734, in Reval, Livonia, died Jan. 22, 1806, in Nazareth. Came to America in 1773, and was serving as chaplain of the Single Brethren's Choir in Bethlehem at this time.

[69] Jeremiah Dencke, born Oct. 2, 1725, at Langenbeilau, Silesia, died May 28, 1795, at Bethlehem. Had been organist in Herrnhut and chaplain of the Single Brethren's Choir at Gnadenberg, Silesia, prior to coming to America in 1761. He was co-pastor of Bethlehem at this time.

[70] John Herman Bonn, born Nov. 3, 1719, in Skippack, Pa., died Jan. 15, 1797, in Bethlehem. He was, at this period, warden of the Single Brethren's House in Bethlehem.

nor could do anything that might work detriment to this country. This we can well affirm and, thereafter, we shall simply submit ourselves to the punishments provided by the laws of the land in such cases, to which others also are subject.

Since a number of Brethren were actually in jail and unable to resolve upon taking the oath, and since we are threatened with the confiscation of our property and with exile from the country, therefore most of the above-named Brethren believed the time had come to change, to some extent, our former policy of remaining silent, and to make representations in the proper place. The watchword of this day: *"I will also speak of Thy testimony before kings, and shall not be put to shame"* [Ps. 119:46] also indicated this course of action. Accordingly, Br. Ettwein had written the draft of a petition or humble representation to the Assembly and submitted it to the board. After it had been read through twice and considered point by point, and some alterations had been made at various places, it was unanimously approved. At the same time the board agreed, that, in case it should be presented, an address must simultaneously be presented to Congress with a copy of the said document, for the sake of the Brethren living in other States. However, the main consideration had not yet been settled: "What is the thought of the Saviour regarding these our well-meant plans?" We therefore submitted the matter to Him for His gracious decision by means of the following * s [lots]

1. *"The Saviour approves that the draft herewith submitted be presented."*
2. "The Saviour does not approve of this."
3. ——— [blank lot].

And, to the joy of the board, the first * was drawn.
Further, it was thought desirable to deputize someone to attend to this personally, who would be able to enter into further questions and answers. Brother Ettwein was unanimously designated for this by the board.

The address was submitted to the Church Councils in Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Litiz and approved by them.

The members of the provincial board and of the Board of

Elders approved the memorial to Congress. It was agreed, however, that Br. Ettwein should confer with H. L. [Henry Laurens], the President, as to whether it ought to be submitted to Congress in *just that form* or *with alterations* or *not at all.*

Copy/

To the Honorable Representatives of the U: St: met in General Congress.

The Humble Representation of the Bishops & Elders of the U: Brethren settled in Pennsylvania,

Sheweth,

That the Episcopal Church, called the Unitas Fratrum or United Brethren in Germany upon hearing of the great religious Liberty in America & receiving an Invitation from the Trustees of Georgia, sent in the Year 1734, 1735 & 1736, a Number of their Members mostly Natives of Moravia to Georgia, as well with a View to propogate the Gospel among the Indians as also to provide some Settlements where their here & there dispersed & persecuted Members might find an Asylum. The Trustees having promised them full Liberty of Conscience & all Indulgence in Regard to their particular Principles; but when the War with the Spaniards broke out, their fellow Inhabitants disturbed them for not carrying Arms and they being unwilling to give Uneasiness to others withdrew from that Colony & retired to Pennsylvania; here they settled in the Forks of Delaware, then a mere Wilderness & lived in the Peace of God & Peace with their Neighbours many Years very happy.

Their Industry & prosperous Settlements drew the Attention of many, they received Invitations to settle in Maryland, the Ohio-Company invited them to Virginia & my Lord Granville & others to N. Carolina; and as they knew by sad Experience, that they could not expect the [to, sic.] find the same Liberties & that Indulgence in the other Provinces, as they had in Pennsylvania, they applied to the King and Parl. of Gr. Br. to grant them in all the British Dominions an Exemption from bearing of Arms or personal Service in War and to accept their Affirmation instead of an Oath! which after a full & strict Enquiry into the Origin, Doctrine & Discipline of the Unitas Fr'm [Fratrum] or United Brethren (whereof the Report was printed and published in London 1749) was granted unto them by a public Act of Parliament.

Encouraged by that Act and the glorious Liberty in Pennsylvania most of the United Brethren now on this Continent came from Germany in full Trust & Confidence that they & their Children would enjoy here Liberty of Conscience without Restraint, & which they enjoyed with Thankfulness until the breaking out of the present Troubles; since which they have been continually troubled for not associatng in the Use of Arms or acting against their Principles in Regard to War; some have been made Prisoners & all ablebodied of a certain Age have been

heavily fined, many so, that if they had not been assisted by Charity, they would lie in Prison or have been forced to give up their Priviledge of being exempt from bearing Arms.

By the Operation of the Test-Acts some have already suffered Imprisonment & by an Act of Assembly of the 1st of April last we find ourselves subject to be outlawed & exiled without any Enquiry into our Behaviour, for which we hold ourselves always accountable to the Magistrates. We hold no Principle any Way dangerous or inconsistent with good Government, We have been tried and sifted enough on that Head by the British Parliament, the Kings of Prussia & Denmark, the Empress of Russia & others before they granted us the beforementioned & other Privileges in their Dominions. We are by our Principles every where the most obedient Subjects to all Laws, that do not run against our Conscience.

We willingly help & assist to bear the public Burthens, & never had any Distress made for Taxes. And we are willing to give all reasonable Assurance, that we will in on wise act against this or the other United States.

We humbly conceive that at altering the Government we were entitled to the Benefit of those Priviledges which enduced us to come into this Land and we have by no Words or Acts against the new Government forfeited them.

We are a quiet minded People who desire nothing more than to possess Liberty of Conscience without Restraint, and if that should be denied unto us, we humbly conceive, we ought in Justice & Equity to be indemnified for our Expence & Trouble in coming to America & be fully paid for our Improvements & Buildings which we have made at a great Expence in the different States in Dependance on the public Faith.

If the Laws of Pennsylvania in Regard to the Test, are to be executed upon us, we & our Families must be ruined & our Creditors wronged; For we cannot take that prescribed Oath, it is against our Conscience for several Reasons, but particularly also on Account of our Union with the Brethrens-Church & her calling to preach the Gospel to the Heathen, having many Missions in the English Dominions.

We have an awful Impression of all Oaths or Affirmations and cannot say Yes! & think No! or No! & think Yes! We want not to deceive any Body but will by the Help of God act honestly before God & Man not fearing the Consequences.

This is at present our distressed Situation.

We have therefore made an humble Representation & Petition to the General Assembly of this State and prayed for some Relief.

We also pray most humbly that the Honorable Congress would please, to take it into their kind Consideration, as the Brethren are not only settled in Pennsylvania, but also in the Jerseys & North-Carolina & have a Congregation in Maryland.

A kind Recommendation of the U. B'rn [United Brethren] to these States, to grant them full Liberty of Conscience or at least a Tolerance or Indulgence until the End of the present War; and particularly an Intercession with the General Assembly of this State, to take our humble Representation into a kind Consideration would be of infinite Service to our Settlements & others in Union with us. And your Petitioners shall ever pray.

In the Name of the Bishops & Elders & on Behalf of all the United Brethren being properly authorized

John Ettwein—

Yorktown May 12th 1778.

Copy/

To the Honourable the Representatives of the Freemen of the State of Pennsylvania.

The Petition & Representation of the United Brethren settled in this State, at Bethlehem, Nazareth, Litiz, Emmaus, Gnadenhütten & others in Union with them

Humbly sheweth,

That the United Brethren settled in Pennsylvania with no other View, but to propagate the Gospel among the Heathen, to enjoy full Liberty of Conscience & to lead under the mild Laws of this Land a quiet & peaceable Life in all Godliness & Honesty.

When about 30 Years ago, the Brethrens-Church received several Invitations to settle in some other Parts of the English Dominions particularly in North-Carolina they found it necessary to apply by their Deputies to the King & Parliament of Gr. Br. to grant unto the Brethrens-Church the same Priviledges in the other parts of the Realm as they enjoyed in Pennsylvania, viz. That their Affirmation might be taken instead of an Oath & that they might be free from all personal Service in War. After a full & strict Enquiry about the Origin, Doctrine & Praxin or Discipline of said Church, an Act of Parliament passed in the Year 1749, to encourage the United Br'n to settle more in America, in which both of the said Priviledges were under certain Regulations granted and secured unto them.

Encouraged by the Charter of this Province & by said Act of Parliament, most of the United Brethren now on this Continent came from Germany to enjoy these Favours with their Children & Childrens Children, considering them as a precious Pearl and Inheritance of greater Worth than any other Thing or Things they had.

For *Liberty of Conscience* many of them have suffered Persecution in other Countries, many of them have left their Houses and Homes, their dearest Relations & many other Blessings on Account of it; here they lived very quiet & happy in their several Settlements under the English Government until of the breaking out of the present unhappy War.

As they could not & would not act against their peaceable Principles & would not join the Associators in learning the Use of Arms, their Peace has been quite disturbed & they have been treated very unfriendly. Being excluded from the Rights of Freemen, disqualified for Elections, denied Justice against Thieves & Robbers, for no other Reasons but for insisting not to give up their Priviledges of the Exercise of their Liberty of Conscience. They were fined & fined again, for not exercising in the Use of Arms; They have been enrolled, drafted with several Classes & in Nhampton County exorbitant Fines exacted from them & no Plea of Disability of Estate accepted; the Justices of the Peace signed Warrants to commit their Bodies to the Common Goal, if they did not pay the Fines; their Houses, Workshops & other Property was invaded & they to their great Loss & Damage turned out of their Trades.

All this & more they bore patiently as a Part of public Calamity, for the Sake of Peace & not to give Offence or to make more Trouble to the Government.

But as lately a Number of their Society has been carried to Prison without Law & for no other Reason but their Unwillingness to take the Test, and as by an Act of Ass: all of the Brethren, who conscientously scruple to take the prescribed Oath find themselves subject to the same Treatment & to be dealt with as Enemies of the Country; we thought it our Duty, to break Silence & to make a true Representation of our Case, praying for Forebearance & Patience with us; as we are not free in our Heart & Mind, to abjure the King, his Heirs & Successors, for several weighty Reasons, but particularly on Account of our Union & Connexion with the Brethrens-Church & her calling to propagate the Gospel amongst the Heathen, a great many of the Brethren don't know how soon one or the other may be called into the Service of a Mission under the English Government, for our Settlements have originally that Destination to be Nurseries of Missionaries. We have the highest Awe & Veneration for an Oath or Affirmation, in Remembrance of the Word of Christ, Let your Communication be yea what is yea & No what is No!

If our Mouths should say yea & the Heart Nay, we should be Hypocrites and give false Witness.

And tho' every one of us shall give Account of himself to God and we are not to judge one another, yet to him that esteemeth any Thing to be unclean, to him it is unclean & Charity obliges us, not to offend one of our Brethren for whom Christ died.

Now as the greater Part of the United Brethren cannot & will not take the prescribed Oath, why should you deny unto them Constitutional Liberty of Conscience? Before you find them guilty of treasonable Practices against this & the other States, which by the Mercy of God will never be the Case! for they hold themselves in Conscience bound to seek the Good of the Land where they sojourn & are ever

willing to do it, in every honest Way; and none will scruple solemnly to promise "That he will not do any Thing injurious to this State or the United States of America & that he will not give any Intelligence, Aid or Assistance to the British Officers or Forces at War with this & the other States."

If one singly or several jointly, act or do any Thing against this Declaration, let them be tried & punished as others who have taken the Test.

We will by the Grace of God seek the Welfare of this Country, as long as we live in it.

But it is our humble Request: That you may protect our Persons & Property against all Violence & Oppression; to let us have the Benefit of the Law; to grant us also some Relief in Regard to the Execution of the Militia Law & not to force any of us, to act against our Conscience and moral Obligations. Let us continue quiet & peaceable in the Places where Providence has placed us, which are dedicated to God for the Advancement of Religion & Virtue & which have been such approved Testimonies of the Brethrens being industrious useful Members of Society; permit us to serve the Publick in our usual Callings unmolested.

If you have your Reasons to exclude us from the Rights of Freemen of this State, grant us to enjoy a Tolerance as peaceable Strangers.

We have no Arms & will bear none against this State or the other States. We desire no Posts of Profit or Honour; we never refused to pay Taxes laid upon us.

If we have no Right, we pray for Indulgence & Mercy. Blessed are the merciful, for they shall receive Mercy.

But if we are not heard & any one of the U. Br'n by the Operation of your Laws; suffers Imprisonment or the Loss of his Property, We declare before God & men; That we do not suffer as headstrong, wilful or disobedient Persons or Evildoers, but for Conscience Sake & must leave our Cause to the righteous Judge over all.

We the Subscribers, Bishops & Elders of the U. Br'n settled in Pennsylvania beg Leave to recommend this Petition & humble Representation into a kind & serious Consideration & to grant to us & our People such Relief as the House finds meet & consistent with Justice & Mercy & your Petitioners will ever pray.[71]—Nathanael Seidel Ep. [Episcopus or Bishop] Matthew Hehl Ep. F'rrm, John Ettwein, Fr. Chr. Lembke, Paul Münster, Fr. Peter, Sen'r, Jeremy Dencke, Andrew Busse, John Bonn, H. Chr. v Schweiniz, Ferdinand Detmers,[72] Phil J.

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[71] The list of signatures here recorded varies slightly from that found on another copy of this petition which is preserved in the Bethlehem archives.

[72] Ferdinand Philip Jacob Dettmers, born Feb. 28, 1718, at Hildesheim, Hannover, died Aug. 28, 1801, in Bethlehem. Had been a merchant prior to uniting with the Church. He served it first as warden

Reizenbach,[73] Meyer,[74] Grube,[75] Francke,[76] Keller,[77] Dreyspring,[78] G. Wallis.[79]

Copy/Addit Episcopus Matthaeus, Litizensis, Suo nomine [Bishop Matthew, of Lititz, adds in his own name]:

We dont seek or pretend to a Dispensation or Exemption from a solemn Affirmation and upright Assurance of our Fidelity & Obedience to the United States of America; We only decline & deprecate the formal Abjuration of the King of Great Britain, his Heirs and Successors for ever.

Our Principles are these:

We preach among Christians & Heathens the Reconciliation with God, thro' our Lord Jesus Christ: We live in the Faith of what we preach: consequently we are all Mens Friends & Lovers, even of those that hate & persecute us, according to the Rule & Example of our dear Lord, who, we know, has dealt so with us: We endeavour to do good service to every Man, that divine Providence has brought near to & enabled us to assist: And this we have hitherto proved, to be fact in many Respects, also under the present Government.

How can we then with a good conscience abjure any Creature under

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of the Single Brethren's House in Niesky, Silesia, and came to America in 1761. He was, at this time, warden of the Nazareth congregation.

[73] Philip Jacob Reizenbach, born Feb. 28, 1725, in Regensburg, Germany, died Sept. 22, 1802, in Nazareth. He came to America in 1770 and was serving at this time as chaplain of the Single Brethren in Christiansbrunn.

[74] Simon Christopher Meyer, born Feb. 28, 1719, in Langensalza, died Dec. 13, 1786, in Bethlehem. Came to America in 1773 and was serving at this time as assistant chaplain of the Single Brethren's Choir in Christiansbrunn.

[75] Bernard Adam Grube, born June 21, 1715, at Walschleben near Erfurt, Germany, died March 20, 1808, in Bethlehem. Studied theology in Jena and served the Church as teacher and preacher in Holland and Livonia prior to coming to America in 1748. Was chaplain of the Married People's Choir in Lititz at this time. For an account of his life see *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol XXV, page 14f; for his autobiography see *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, vol XI, pages 199ff.

[76] John Christopher Francke, born Dec. 30, 1711, in Schneeberg, Saxony, died Aug. 22, 1782, in Lititz. Came to America in 1742 and served as principal of various schools and later as minister. He was at this time warden of the Lititz congregation.

[77] John Renatus Keller, born Aug. 23, 1727, died Feb. 22, 1782, in Lititz. Came to America in 1773 and was at this time warden of the Single Brethren's House in Lititz.

[78] Charles Jacob Dreyspring, who was at this time assistant to the warden of the Single Brethren's House in Bethlehem.

[79] John George Wallis came from Germany to Salem, N. C., in 1774, to serve as warden in the temporary absence of von Marschall. Due to ill health, he resigned in 1776 and moved North.

Heaven, except Satan & all his Works & Doings? How can we engage ourselves, to be declared & sworn Foes of any of our Fellow-Creatures? How can we, by a binding Oath, forever renounce a King who was once our great Benefactor, together with his Heirs & Successors: consequently obliged by such an Oath to transmit it an Odium haereditarium [hereditary hatred] to our Posterity?

The Fear of God forbids us, to think so, much less to do so.

We therefore only beg Tolerance in this Point & Respect, as faithful Subjects, who nevertheless are not minded to serve two Masters.

Lenity begets Willingness and friendly Subjection;

Severity begets ill Will & crying to Heaven.

Should our Lives & Estates be deprived of all civil Priviledges & exposed to the strongest execution of the Law & connected Penalties; we cannot help it. Every conscientious Man knows, and human Nature dictates it: That religious Persuasion can not be regulated by Law, nor altered by Force, but as far as innocent, tolerated by Moderation.

Matthaeus Hehl.

Litiz May the 8th 1778. *M p B* [written with his own hand?]

No use was made of this addition because we hesitated to present to the Assembly anything more than that which the * [lot] had approved.

On May 7, 1778, I left Bethlehem, accompanied by the most hearty good wishes of the congregation. Our watchword read: "*For He spake, and it was done; He commanded, and it stood fast.* [Ps. 33:9] *Now work our cause, Who workest all.*" And on the 8th, God girded me with strength. For my ability and capacity is capable of nothing, avails nothing. On the 11th, I reached Yorktown, the watchword being: "*Above the voices of many waters, the mighty breakers of the sea, the Lord on high is mighty.* [Ps. 93:4] Under His protection, from whate'er direction blow the storm, I'm safe." On that very day, there was published an Address to the People by Congress, which seemed to me like a roaring storm. The treaty with France had just become known and all was at a fever heat. I visited President Laurens without delay, acquainted him with my mission, showed him the memorial, requested him to correct the copy intended for Congress. He replied: it would not be necessary, I should present both of them just as they were;[80] he considered it our duty to make representation, whether fruit should come of it or not.

[80] The Herrnhut MS adds: "The one intended for Congress should bear my name alone, since I was known to them."

After reading the memorials, he said: "I like your Spirit!" He promised to speak with some members of Congress, naming some whom I should visit and interview privately about this. I did so early on the 12th of May, visiting 6. members of Congress; only Mr. MacKean, Chief Justice of Pennsylv. proved unfriendly and told me: he would vote against it; if I were pledged to obey someone else, I would be no fit subject of the State. Governor Morris of New York introduced the memorial in Congress the same day, taking our part warmly, as did several others. Mr. Duane,[81] a lawyer, said: "I believe the Moravians are good Subjects, but they will have nothing to do with pulling down old Governments & setting up new ones!" He inquired of me, whether that were not our position, and I answered: "Yes!" He volunteered to secure a piece of land of 5 to 6. square m. for the Brethren, 40. m. from Boston, together with an act from the State, similar to the act of Parliament, if we should care to establish a settlement there. I replied: now was not the time to contemplate anything like that. The eastern States require an oath of abjuration only from those who hold public office. The President said: should this people be driven into exile, he would be tempted to drop everything and go with them. A committee[82] was appointed to examine the memorial more closely. Mr. Ellers[83] of Rhode Island was purposely named for this; but afterward, by means of private juggling, MacKean replaced him on it. On the 14th, the President showed me their report in strict confidence. Its purport was as follows: that we still were in possession of our privileges, that even a mere representation to the Assembly would be too strong an action, etc. He was dissatisfied with it, laid the blame on M., and said: it should be recommitted! But after I had waited several days, I received the following document from the President himself, when I visited him on the 16th.

Copy/ Yorktown Saturday 16th. May 1778.

Reverend Sir,

Congress have been so closely engaged in Affairs of great Importance requiring immediate Attention as to exclude hitherto the Con-

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[81] The Herrnhut MS reads: "Dana".

[82] The Herrnhut MS adds: "of three".

[83] The Herrnhut MS reads: "Ellery".

sideration of your Memorial, nor do I believe there will be an Opening for bringing it forward even on Monday next altho', as I judge from private Conversation, there are many Gentlemen heartily disposed to grant your Requests, the whole House may be so for ought I know. As you have waited so many Days without Effect, you will probably save Time by proceeding in your intended Application to the State at Lancaster.

Be assured Sir, I will lay your Papers before Congress at the first Opportunity for taking them under Consideration, & as speedily as the Case will admit of, you shall be informed at Lancaster or Bethlehem of such Determination as shall be taken thereon.

From an Opinion that the granting your Request will be equally consistent with sound Policy & Christian Charity, I can not do less than wish very earnestly that you may be dismissed from Lancaster with an Answer which will give Joy & Satisfaction to the Brethren & eventually produce much Benefit to these United States.

I am Rev'd Sir with great
Affection & Respect your Friend
& Humble Serv't
Henry Laurens.

The Rev'd Mr. Ettwein.

Since he gave me verbal permission to make use of this, I gathered his intent, thanked him for his kind treatment, and journeyed to Lancaster. I reached it on the 17th, when the doctrinal text encouraged me: "He that believeth on Him shall not be put to shame." [Rom. 9:33]

Early on the 18th, I visited some Assemblymen and Speaker Bayard. I showed them the petition and the letter from H. Laurens. The Speaker promised me his good offices and advised me to subjoin the letter to the petition.

That afternoon, I was summoned to the Assembly and placed next to the Speaker. He announced: that I had brought a petition to the Assembly from the Brethren and asked: whether it should be read? A unanimous "Yes!" having been given, both it and the letter from the President were read by the Clerk, very clearly and emphatically. The Speaker said: I would be permitted to introduce the subject myself. I arose, and, because I had seemed to act improperly in going to Yorktown first, explained this at the outset: namely, that we found ourselves in oppressive circumstances not only in Pennsyl., but also in Jersey, North Carolina, and Maryland. I related how our Brethren in

NHampton-County had fared in the execution of the Militia-Law[84] and our fears in regard to the Test-Act, since we could not take the test as it stood; but that we were willing to affirm all obedience and loyalty to the State; that it would have bad consequences, if a number of Brethren who had come to Pennsylvania for freedom of conscience's sake, should have to leave it again for freedom of conscience's sake, etc. I had quite devout hearers;[85] if they had been *obliged* to pass a resolution forthwith, I should unquestionably have had all my desire. The petition was laid on the table, and the Speaker said: I would be called, no doubt, when, in due course, the matter should again come up for discussion. But that was not the case. The day following, the Schwenkfelders also presented a similar petition.[86] On Wednesday, both were turned over to a committee; and one could anticipate the answer, since its chairman was a zealous Irishman. Mr. Barton, the Anglican clergyman, also presented a petition for himself and his parishioners; and 4. of the leading Mennonites visited me several times and would also have liked to have made a petition. They were reluctant chiefly to address the Assembly as the Representatives of the Freemen. I told them I, too, had long been reluctant on the same point, but that they were the true and actual representatives of those who had elected them; whether they were many or few was immaterial to us,

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[84] The Herrnhut MS here adds: "and was asked: on what occasion justice against robbers and thieves had been withheld from us. I answered them: that 80 yd of cloth had been stolen from the fulling mill, and that the Justices had refused to give the fuller a search warrant because we had not taken the test."

[85] "I was honored by being placed next to the Speaker in the Assembly of the Representatives and was permitted to recommend our petition orally, which was more in the nature of a free confession of faith than of a plea. I felt almost as though I were conducting a church service and experienced no antipathy at all." Thus Ettwein wrote in his autobiographical notes. See E.P. No. 106. The entry for May 18, 1778, P. M. in *Journals of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, vol. I, reads: "A petition and representation from the united brethren settled in this state, at Bethlehem, Nazareth, Lititz, Emmaus, Gnadenhutten and others in union with them, setting forth the hardships which (they apprehend) they suffer from the militia law and test law of this state, and praying relief therein, was presented to the house by the reverend Mr. Etwein, and being read, was ordered to lie on the table."

[86] A copy of this petition, also, is preserved in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem. See E.P. No. 1600.

for we and they had none, because we had been excluded from the election; and, after all, no other Assembly existed for the time being. However, they soon learned that the proposal to repeal or suspend the Act had been rejected by a majority of the House.

The Speaker told me: that nearly the whole House pitied us and that it pained him to find the members from our own County so bitter against us; that the committee had listed the reasons why they could do nothing to ameliorate our position; that we might perhaps fare better with the next Assembly and should be patient in the meanwhile; perhaps the reasonableness of the oath might become more plain to us.[87] He would confer with the President, asking him to write to ——— that we should not be troubled, if we would remain quiet as we had hitherto done, and advised me to address a request to that effect to the Council. I did so in writing[88] and solicited that the justices and other

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[87] Other gentlemen joined Mr. Bayard in this hope; but Ettwein's answer to Mr. Marshall, a Quaker, who tried to make him see the legimacy of abjuring King George, was uncompromising enough. "I did not intend to abjure any other power than that of the devil and his works and ways," Ettwein records having told him. E.P. No. 1292.

[88] The original is preserved in the *Stauffer Collection* of the New York Public Library. It reads: "To His Excellency the President and the Honourable Members of the Executive Council.
The Petition of the Subscriber Humbly Sheweth
That your Humble Petitioner was sent by the United Brethren settled at Bethlehem, Nazareth, Emaus, Litiz & others in Union with them, with a Humble Petition to the General Assembly of this State, setting forth their Sufferings by the severe & rigorous Execution of several Laws of This State & praying for some Relief in Regard to the Test-Acts, as the greater Part of them cannot take the Oath of Abjuration, tho' they are willing to give all Assurance of their Faith and Allegiance to this State. And finding that the General Assembly is not disposed to make for the present any Alteration in those Laws, your Petitioner fears, that even the humble Application of the Brethren to the Gouvernment, might incite some violent Men to execute those Laws with an unnecessary Rigour & greater Severity upon them & therefore most humbly prays in the Name of the United Brethren and on their Behalf; that the Honourable Council would favour them with a Recommendation to the Justices and other officers of Gouvernment: To execute the Laws in Regard to the Brethren with Moderation & Mercy and to grant them Protection against all riotous and lawless Proceedings of the People, that they may serve the Country in their lawful Callings, as long as the Safety of the State may permitt it.
Such a Recommendation would highly oblige the United Brethren & would prevent a great deal of Trouble and needless Distress to many good and worthy Subjects of this State. And your Petitioner shall ever pray.

officers be recommended to use moderation and mercy in enforcing the laws among the Brethren and to afford us protection against all mobs and riotous acts on the part of the populace, etc. Mr. Matlack introduced this in Council; it was read immediately and a resolution passed to have Vice President Bryan (President Wharton died the same day) and some members write to all magistrates to this effect. The Secretary and others repeatedly said to me that, if the Brethren were to continue to show the same attitude as hitherto and would remain quiet, no harm should befall us. If we alone were involved, our request would have been granted at once; but the Quakers and Mennonites stood in our way, "an irresistible Resentment prevails against them".

The death of the President created a considerable interruption; moreover it was rumored that the English planned to leave Philad. The confirmation of the committee draft was therefore delayed, and the Speaker promised me to send the reply of the Assembly on to me.

On the 22nd I received some letters from the Council and brought them away with me from Lancaster. The watchword comforted me; it read: "*Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces.* [Ps. 122:7] *And the Church's blissful progress, through nought disturbed shall be.*"

On being called to the Vice President to receive a letter from him, I was pleased, when I arrived, to find him to be a little old man who, with his wife, had come to Bethlehem from Allenstown last fall and had made a very poor appearance. I had escorted them through the Single Sisters' House and other places,[89] without knowing who they were. He recognized me and was

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Lancaster May 22'd 1778. John Ettwein
Minister of the Gospel at Bethlehem"

E.P. No. 1300a contains a draft of this petition, at the foot of which Ettwein noted: "This was presented by Mr. Tim: Matlok & resolved thereon: That it would not be well for the Council to do such a thing as a Body, but that some Members should write in favour of the Brethren to some of the officers in the Counties."

[89] For years Ettwein served as official guide for visitors to Bethlehem, in addition to his other duties. His knowledge of English and his gift for finding the right approach to all sorts of men fitted him for this service. During this whole period a remarkably large number of distinguished strangers were entertained in Bethlehem, references to whom are frequent in the Diary.

unusually polite; I was very happy to have treated them as I had in Bethlehem. It confirmed me in my resolve to treat the meanest stranger exactly as the most imposing, since one cannot tell when such an one may do a service or a hurt.

Copy of the letter of the Vice President to Mr. Levers, Justice and County Clerk in Easton:

The Moravians & Schwenkfelders have urged to be freed of the Abjuration, this may not be done for obvious Reasons, one is, because they are willing to promise Allegiance, as properly this includes the other & would seem as if they had some groundless Reserve or did not consider it as renouncing all other.[90]

Yet the State wish not to have them distressed about the Oath farther than the Disabilities ensuing from their own Neglect, these are sufficient. In special Cases & with dangerous Persons the calling on Persons to appear & swear, may be well enough. The Power was necessary whilst the Enemy are in the State & the War prosecuted with Violence. It is wished that all unequal Treatment as the Militia Fines or otherwise & all Unjustice be avoided; & particularly all tumultuous & riotous Treatment be discountenanced. These Things may do Discredit to our Cause. Your Zeal & Attention to Law & Order are not doubted, but some late Proceedings convince me that your Interposition in a prudent Way will be useful in the County.

I am

George Bryan.[91]

On the 25th of May, the reasons were published which the

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[90] In a letter to Levers, Ettwein sought to explain the distinction made by the Moravians between promising allegiance to the new government and abjuring the old. "Many of us owed natural Allegiance to Austria, when the King of Prussia conquered Silesia, they promised Allegiance to him without abjuring Austria, when they came into the Br. Dominions they promised the same to the K. of Gr. Br. without abjuring Prussia. Just so we mean it, with promising Alleg. to the State, if one includes the other, why then *such* Persecution about the Solemnity of the Abjuration. The Words can be construed different ways, one takes them in a narrow, the other in a more enlarged Sense, one thinks he binds himself only for the present Time and Place, another takes futurity in, &c." E.P. No. 366a. See also Ettwein's argument on page 320.

[91] The *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol. VI page 541, contain the copy of a letter of similar tenor, written by Mr. Bryan to Col. John Wetzel, and dated Lancaster, May 22, 1778. The closing sentence reads: "Your prudent advices to your friends and deputies, without exposing these lines to the knowledge of the petitioners, will serve the public interest." On page 551, the reply of Lieut. John Wetzel to Mr. Bryan is reproduced. It was dated Maccoungo, in Northampton County, May 25, 1778. In it he assured the Vice President of his acting with strict impartiality and of his seeking to promote peace and harmony in his district, while charging the "Tories" of Northampton County with bad behaviour.

committee had advanced for not being able to grant the petitions of the Moravian Brethren and Schwenkfelders, of the Anglican missionaries, as also two petitions from residents of Bucks-County. In all of them they [the petitioners] had requested to be excused from taking that part of the oath of allegiance in which the abjuration occurs. This read in part:[92]

1.) Because the most honorable Continental Congress—had made known, "that these United Colonies rightfully were and should be independent States", and that they had been absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, etc.

2.) Because many persons are among us who, because of prejudices, the hope of remunerative services, or for other despicable motives, prefer a slavish dependence upon the British King and hope to escape the attention of the Government by means of a professed neutrality. It is, therefore, highly necessary to make a plain distinction by means of which to discern our friends from our foes.

3.) Because it is not comprehensible how anyone could really promise allegiance to the United States and at the same time refuse to renounce allegiance to a power which, at this very moment, without the least just cause, is engaged in an offensive, cruel war against us, by its fleets and armies is devastating our land, searing and burning, pillaging and destroying, and committing every outrage which the most refined cruelty of savage barbarians can invent.

4.) Because the British openly assert that it is the opinion of those persons in whose name such [petitions] have been presented, that a general oath of allegiance to the King of Gr. Br. might be retained, and that any change by this House in the compulsory oath, in line with these petitions, would admit the obligation for and justice of the formulation of such a general oath.

5.) Because Germans, in particular, have no ground to protest against the oath of allegiance as decreed, since they in the past, almost without exception, have abjured allegiance to a royal family, which lost its claim to the British throne for no more wanton and outrageous deeds against the rights of its subjects, than the present King has been guilty of against the inhabitants of America.

6.) Because the House has taken special care in all its deliberations and undertakings not to give offense to any single religious society by showing greater leniency towards any one than towards others or by favoring one rather than another; and because many well disposed members of the Moravian*, as well as of some other societies, voluntarily and freely have taken and subscribed to the oath and affirmation of allegiance, as the laws of this State prescribe, therefore there is

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[92] For Ettwein's attempted rebuttal of the following points, see pages 318-321.

good reason to believe that the representations made against it are, in reality, only the representations of individual persons. But even should that not be the case, this House could not grant the petitioners such a request without thereby arousing just suspicion and dissatisfaction among those who have already taken said oath and affirmation.[93]

* William Henry and others in Lancaster were notorious for this. The former did all he could to persuade irresolute Brethren in Lancaster and Litiz and also Bethlehem to [take] the test. The notion, that these representations were merely the representations of individual persons originated with him. He also was the cause for Cassler and his sons, David Tanneberger and his son, Rauch, Claus Cölln, the unmarried Leinbach, John Miller, Weinland, Krause, Hassler, Zahm going to Lancaster from Litiz and taking the test. This resulted in a very serious split in the Litiz congregation, so that for 5. months no congregational communion was held and only on Nov. 13, 1778, could a general reconciliation be effected with great effort. Oh, that all such roots of bitterness were eradicated![94]

Toward the end of May, before Mr. Levers received the Vice President's letter, Br. Andr. Giering[95] of Emmaus was again thrown into jail, because Mr. Wetzel, Jacob Miller, and 2. militia officers had sworn that he did not favor independence. A private quarrel and Wetzel's enmity against Giering were really to blame; and since Giering refused to take the test, he was held for 7. weeks.[96] He appealed to the Chief Judge, but the latter replied,

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[93] The Herrnhut MS here adds: " 'Thereupon it was Resolved: that this House endorse the above-mentioned Reasons and that this House is nevertheless ready and willing to afford the petitioners certain encouragement or protection, as far as this shall lie in its power and can be reconciled with the obligation which it owes to its electors and to the welfare of the United States of America. Excerpt from the minutes. John Morris, Jr., Secretary of the Gen'l Assembly.' "

[94] In the Herrnhut MS this note contains the following additional sentences: "Many people, especially among the Reformed, have completely severed their church connections, because either the clergyman or a large section of the congregation held views differing from their own in regard to the Test-Act. Some affirmed only half of the Test, and the Justice gave them a certificate."

[95] A shoemaker, who had come to America from Württemberg in 1751.

[96] Ettwein wrote him the following letter during his imprisonment: "My dear Br. Giering,

I would have sent a messenger to you as early as last Saturday, as you requested, but I felt certain I would see you myself and speak with you today. And since it has again proven impossible today, I am sending you our cordial greetings in the meantime.

You wish to know what we plan to do in reference to the oath. We intend to stand by our declaration to the Assembly and not let ourselves be alarmed by the threats of evil men! However, we cannot

he knew no help for him, unless he would take the test.

Thereupon he wrote to Levers as follows:

Sir,

I had great Scruples to take the prescribed Test & was resolved rather to suffer any Thing than to act against my Conscience and have been now 11 Weeks a Prisoner on that Account; I have made an Application to the Chief Judge, but find I cannot be set free without taking the Test and as my poor Family is in great Distress by the Harvest Time & Fright of the Country on Account of the Indians; I am resolved rather to take the Test than to be longer separated from them. God knows my Heart & Circumstances & will in Mercy pardon me, if I do wrong & give Offence to any tender Conscience.—

Justice Arndt was quite nonplussed and hesitated to take the oath of him, had him sign his name in the book, and so let him go home.

In June, Mr. Limbach and Morey, 2. Justices in Saucon, in Upper Milford, summoned a number of their neighbors to take the test and, since they refused, sent them to jail. Many did not appear; these got off successfully. But 9 Mennonites and

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guarrantee or answer for all Brethren. I have been told that certain of the strong Whigs in Litiz have taken the oath and have torn the bond of brotherly love and unity. There is, indeed, a considerable difference between one who stands alone in some place and committing an act in a congregational settlement, where others are offended and harmed.

I can as little counsel you to take the oath, as I myself intend to take it. But I leave it to your heart to decide and trust the dear Saviour will make quite plain to you the course which He would have you take. Read the watchword and doctrinal text for today in His presence, in simplicity of heart.

I have been told that a certain man has said, if he could only persuade you to do it, the others would soon be attended to. For this reason I sincerely trust you will not take the lead in this and thus burden others with something, even though your own heart might permit you to give way. Emaus is included in our petition; and even though the Assembly did not immediately alter the oath, yet it promised us all protection. I do not believe that one of our number will be driven out of the country or dispossessed of his property, simply because he refuses to take the oath. But the gentlemen are allowed to threaten.

May the dear Saviour help us and strengthen us to reamain of good cheer in suffering and patient in tribulation, and keep us in peace and love among ourselves, as members of the body of which He is the head.

I hope to see you before the week is out. Could I follow the promptings of my love and sympathy for you, without heeding other considerations, I would visit you every week.

With cordial greetings,
I remain,
Your faithful Brother,
J. E." (E.P. No. 834)

2. others were very harshly dealt with, in accordance with the latest Test-Act; they were notified to leave the country within 30. days; all their movable property was taken from them and sold at public auction; their children's flour was taken out of the sack and even the women's spinning wheels. Siegfried, the Sheriff, carried out his office with cruelty. The remark was repeatedly made, on this occasion, that they would treat the Bethlehemites in the same way, and each of those employed in this had already calculated how much he would gain thus.[97] Late, on the 6th of Sept., a report was brought us that our enemies had now determined to strike at us and had ordered the Constable to be in Bethlehem on the 7th, which was one of our festival days;[98] the Justices, also, were to appear. We awaited them, therefore, arranging at the inns early on the 7th that, should they come, they were to be detained there until one of the church officials would arrive. Toward noon, a Constable came with 2. men belonging to the militia in Saucon. Br. Ettwein crossed the Lecha[33] without delay, so as to interview them at the inn; there, by speaking them fair, he secured the following unique warrant:

(Accurate Copy)

Northampton County,

You are to sumon al the Parson which is above the Age of eighteen Years which has not taken the Oath or Affirmation of Allegiance to appear before us the Subscribers two of the Justices of the Peace of the County aforesaid one 14 Day of September instant at Nicholaus Foxt[99] in Allenstown given under our Hand and Seals the 4.th Day of September. No year

to Yost Walb Constable } Jacob Morry
Fried'ch Limmbach

Bethlehem. Nazareth.
Knodenthal. Christiansbrunn

The Constable demanded the names of all male inhabitants

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[97] Moravians believed this to be the secret of most of the hostility shown them locally by the County authorities. Thus Lewis Weiss wrote to Ettwein in Oct., 78: "The grand point is to be secured against a total destruction of the Brethren by the Hands of these cruel Neighbours who hunger and thirst after your Estates, and will certainly devour them in a few Months without the Assembly will interpose." E.P. No. 645.

[98] The annual covenant day of the Married People's Choir.

[99] An innkeeper.

of Bethlehem and had brought the 2. men along to obtain a list of them by force. But they allowed themselves to be moved by a good dinner and good words to surrender the warrant in exchange for the following receipt:

This is to certify that Yost Walb Constable of Upper Saccona has summoned Bethlehem, Nazareth, Gnadenthal, Christiansbrunn, to appear before Jacob Morry and Fr. Limmbach at Nic. Foxt at Allenstown one 14th of Sept. instant. Witness my Hand.

John Ettwein.

It so happened, that Mr. J. Van Campen, an Assemblyman, arrived that day from Philad. When he learned of the procedure of the Justices, he wrote them as follows:

Having this Day returned from the House of Assembly now sitting in Philad: & being informed that some Persons are minded to carry the Test Laws into full & rigid Execution, against the United Brethren, I therefore take the Liberty to inform all such, that a Supplement to the said Test Law, for the Ease & Relief of all quietminded Persons in this State, not having taken the same, was in Agitation, when I left the House—I think it on that Account, very adviseable, as well as just & prudent to suspend for a Time, any Prosecution on that account.——

Mr. Jacob Arndt, the Councellor, whom Br. Ettwein visited in this matter, wrote to the 2. Justices; the Brethren Schweiniz and Bonn visited them, taking both of these documents with them, and requested them to rescind the warrant; but they refused. Br. Ettwein journeyed to Philad. on this account and caught the Speaker just as he was about to attend the last session of this Assembly and showed him the remarkable warrant. He immediately took it with him and showed it to the Assembly. The House and Council held a conference upon the subject and in it appointed one member of the Council, Mr. Jaeger of Berks County, and one of the Assembly, John Ralston, to speak with me. Mr. Bayard told me this and hoped that we might manage to escape until the next Assembly, when the Act would certainly be amended. He said: "We have made a sharp Weapon and mad men have got it into their Hands, we must try to get it from them again." The reply I obtained was: none of the Brethren were to appear before the Justices on the 14th; the warrant or summons was invalid; and should they press the matter further, I was to report it to the Council; but that several gentlemen had been commissioned to speak to the Justices.

Timothy Matlack, the Secretary of the Council, gave me the following in writing:

Philadelphia Sept. 11, 1778.

My Friend,
I have seen a Copy of the Summons issued by two of the Justices of your County calling all Persons &c. to appear at the Time & Place named & take the Oath of Allegiance &c. This was not the Intention of the Law. Such as can take the Oath had best do so, those who cannot take it, have, in my Opinion, a sufficient Plea against the Summons now issued —— It is not a lawful Summons, & may on that Account, I am well satisfied be set aside at the Court, & by this Means you may gain Time to have your Case laid before the next General Assembly. The Persons summoned must be careful not to obey the Summons, otherwise they will lose their Plea, of the Insufficiency of it. — For an Appearance in Consequence of an illegal or informal Summons is an Acknowledgment of the Force of the Summons, & it may not be afterwards questioned. I am respectfully

your Friend

T. Matlack.

Mr. Wm. Henry of Lancaster happened to be in Philadelphia and resolved to accompany me to Bethlehem, to see whether he could not bring these Justices to their senses. He and John Okely went to Allenstown on the 14th of Sept. (where the Justices, Sheriffs, and Constables and many onlookers were waiting for the Brethren) and informed them they need expect no one; that the Assembly and the Council had declared the warrant to be illegal, etc. They advised them to drop the matter. But, since they insisted that they must do something to satisfy the people, they urged them to come to Bethlehem personally and there take the test from such as would comply voluntarily; for they believed there would be many such. The outcome was: I was to appear before them on the 15th, at 10 o'clock in the morning, or they would fetch me by a guard. Wm. Henry and Br. Nathanael [Seidel] informed me of this the same evening. I did not feel comfortable about this, but resolved to appear promptly. Early in the morning, I grew afraid and drew a verse; it read: "Fear not their fear, nor be in dread thereof!" [Is. 8:12] Thereby all fear and anxiety were completely banished. I hesitated to take any Brother with me; but since Mr. Sutten, a church adherent from Lancaster, wanted to return just at this time, I took him along for company, letting him stay in the tavern until I had

been attended to. (As I came to the Lecha[33] near Allenstown, 6. men carrying guns met me; apparently they had intended to fetch me, since they turned back, following me.) Mr. Limbach and Morry were greatly offended at me for having gone to Philadelphia with their summons. Mr. Morry asked me repeatedly: whether I imagined he could not write a better warrant; he would show us that he could! I replied: I had no doubt about it, but that I was glad that that one had been illegal! They said: had I not gone to Philad., they would have spared us in the end. I replied: we had first sent Mr. Schweiniz and Bonn to them with the opinion of Mr. Arndt and V. Campen, and had requested them to rescind the summons, but they had refused; so no other way was open for us but to appeal to the government. They asked: whether we would appear in pursuance to the summons or whether they must dispatch new summons? Answ: "We have been advised not to appear in pursuance of that of the 4th of Sept., and I beg not to dispatch another." After they had tormented me thus for 2. hours, we had dinner, after which the 2. Justices spent half an hour in private in order to confer with each other; they also spoke with the Constable. Then I was summoned again, and for a long time things went on in the old strain. Finally the Constable, who stood by me, gave me a tap on the shoulder and said: "But Mr. Ettwein, how about yourself? Where is *your* certificate?" I gave him a sharp look and said: "Mr. Walb, I have declared in the public Assembly that I would not take the test, and these 2. Justices know it also. It is no further business of yours!" He glanced at the Justices to see whether he should go further; but they both looked away from him, and so he remained silent. Mr. Morry, thereupon, said: I was accused of having prayed for the king! Answ.: "That I cannot deny; we pray in our litany every Sunday for all kings, princes, and lords, and for all our enemies, and the King of England would certainly be included among them; but I should like to be confronted by the individual who would say that the name K.G. of Gr. Br. had been named in our church since the declaration of independence."[100] Thereupon he said: there was

[100] This was a slight inaccuracy on Ettwein's part. According to the Bethlehem Diary, prayer was made for King George by name in Bethlehem until July 28, 1776—see the entry on that date.

only one woman who wished to swear to this effect against me. Thereupon, he said, he had also heard, that Mr. O.[101] had said: all he had left to sell were ropes wherewith to hang the C! [Constable?] I was surprized that they should be inclined to believe such silly old tales and said: A year and a day ago I had inquired into that from the man himself and had found the last remark to be a reckless, malicious elaboration and slander on the part of the C.

Then they grew more affable, asking me whether I believed it would be worth their trouble for them to come to Bethlehem, as Mr. Henry and Okely advised. I replied, I could not tell them that; I knew none who would take the oath voluntarily! They said: they wanted to tell me in confidence, that it could not continue so that individuals who had not taken the test should serve in inns, mills, stores, and so forth; they repeated several times: "Some Satisfaction we must have!"

I then promised to pay the Constable and them, too, for their trouble, etc., and offered to have a pair of shoes made for each of them for their trouble;[102] they were to have Mr. Böckel take their measurements. (Mr. Morry actually did so. When he received the shoes, he asked, indeed, what they cost. Being assured that they had already been paid for—"for you have had a lot of trouble with us!"—he was well content, and said quite naïvely: "You were quite welcome!") They let me go, after asking me to notify the Brethren in Bethlehem and Nazareth, that they intended to come to the inn at Bethlehem the following ♀,[103] there to take the test from those who would conform voluntarily. Mr. Wetzel and Weber, the Deputy Sheriff, spent the whole time during the afternoon in an adjoining room, eavesdropping on us. When I had left, Mr. Fox asked the Justices:

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101 John Francis Oberlin, the store keeper of Bethlehem.

102 On such points, Ettwein does not seem to have had scruples. In a letter preserved in the Winston-Salem Archives (to Graff, dated Bethlehem, Nov. 16, 78), he wrote: "As to the officers in your country, we would advise that you take all possible means to make friends of them; a pair of boots, a pair of shoes, a dozen pounds of coffee, and the like, are often good arguments that one is right, and will prevent many a fine; to make use of this weakness can be no sin." Quoted in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. XXXVI, page 302.

103 This symbol was commonly used by early Moravian diarists to designate Friday.

"Well, what have you done with Mr. Ettwein?" Answ.: "Nothing can be done with him; he has too many good friends in the Congress and the Assembly!" Later it became known that they had fully determined to send me to jail, were I to refuse the test. The fact that a stranger was in waiting made them very uneasy; they tried by all means to learn from me and Mr. Sutton who he was. They would not believe us, however, but concluded that he was charged with carrying word to the Council immediately, should they lay hands on me.

I am overwhelmed, whenever I remember the feeling of gratitude and joy in Bethlehem, when I returned; I cannot describe it. The watchword of the day, on which the ill-meant warrant was dated read: *"The Lord bringeth the counsel of the nations to nought; He maketh the thoughts of the peoples to be of no effect.* [Ps. 33:10] *And should they try with cunning guile, God goes His own way all the while."* And the watchword of the 14th, when we were to have appeared, read: "He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty. I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and fortress; my God, in Whom I trust. [Ps. 91:1,2.] And if I have Thee at my side, Thy gifts within my chalice, I'm wholly safe, whate'er betide, from death and Satan's malice." The doctrinal text: "Let love of the brethren continue. [Heb. 13:1] Preserve us in true union, the cross our trysting place," etc. Words of God like these, at times like these, have ever increased my assurance and joyfulness of heart.

Wm. Henry was exceedingly busy, these days, in an effort to free the Brethren from their scruples against taking the oath, and it was thought he had had success with many. The following resolution was, therefore, taken in a meeting of the Brethren belonging to the Board of Elders, on the evening of the 15th, after my return from Allenstown: To let those Brethren, who felt they could take the test, decide for themselves, whether they would do so on the 18th, when the Justices would come to Bethlehem; and even to advise those employed in public enterprises to do so. I was commissioned to write to Nazareth to this effect; I did so, but became so restless during the night, that I could not sleep. I saw quite plainly that we would create a dissension in the Church

and that offense and scandal would result, were the Brethren in these enterprises to take the test. Therefore, I could not do otherwise than roundly declare my opposition to this in the meeting of the Board of Elders, the following morning, and withdraw my [former] advice and consent entirely. Only God's great mercy kept us from ending in lamentable dissension; our dear Saviour made use of the Nazareth Brethren to prevent this. For, when the argument was at its height, there came a letter from them in which they expressed astonishment at our having yielded and grown weak; they complained, and declared roundly, that they would stand firm and rather quit the public enterprises than take the test. Only Br. Lungberg was willing to take the test, if he could do so without giving offense.

The Brethren in Bethlehem were interviewed in two sections. They were given a short account of what had occurred in Allenstown and of what we had intended to do thereafter, particularly with regard to those Brethren who had public occupations, such as doctors, millers, inn keepers, etc.; but that grave doubts still remained, lest this cause a dissention among us, as it had in Litiz; that the Brethren in Nazareth had declared in favor of standing fast and enduring. Nearly all the Brethren, with very few exceptions, held themselves pledged to this course; some among them said: "Though all were to do it we will not; it should not take us long to tie our bundles etc." The evil Justices came on the 18th, having cited all our Brethren from Emmaus by name, together with Francis Böhler,[104] their teacher, to appear before them (in order to prove that they could write legal warrants.) Here they were required to take the test; and because they refused, they were sent again to jail in Easton. Not a single soul from Bethlehem and Nazareth appeared; nor did they summon anyone. The lawyers tried to free the Emmaus men in the court at Easton, but in vain. Thereupon they suffered themselves to take the test in order to return to their homes. Br. Francis Böhler alone remained in jail; however, several days later he was freed on bail until the next [session of the] court, in Dec.

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[104] Francis Böhler, born Sept. 1, 1722, in Frankfurt-on-the-Main, died in Lititz June 4, 1806. He was a younger brother of Bishop Peter Böhler, came to America in 1752, and served as a minister in various congregations.

In October, 1778, we resolved once more to present an address to the Ass:, Mr. L. Weiss[105] writing the following draft for this purpose:

To the Honorable the Representatives of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met,

The Memorial of the Subscribers, Members of the Protestant Church called Unitas Fratrum or the United Brethren vulgarly called the Moravians on Behalf of themselves & their Brethren dwelling in several Parts of the State of Pennsylvania, Your Memorialists in the first Place beg Leave to refer to the humble Petition & Representation which in their Behalf the 18th Day of May last has been presented to the House of Assembly then met at Lancaster & to the Report of a Committee & the Resolve of that House entered upon their Journal the 25th Day of the same Month.

Next your Memorialists thankfully accept and avail themselves of the Declaration of that House of Representatives, to wit, "That they were ready and willing to grant to your Memorialists every Encouragement & Protection in their Power consistent with the Duty they owe to their Constituents and the Welfare of the United States of America."

And fully confiding that your Honours are as well as the late House disposed to favour & countenance the Toleration of a quiet & inoffensive People, your Memorialists would rest contented with the aforesaid Declaration & not give your Honourable House the Trouble of receiving & considering this their second Memorial and Representation upon the same Subject, if it was not by Reason of some late disagreeable Occurrencies, in the County of Northampton, where the Examples of the utmost Rigours in the Act "for the further Security of Government," denounced against Persons inimical or justly suspected to be inimical to this & the other United States of America, have been set on Persons, who in all Appearance, were quite inoffensive.

And now the Spirit of Persecution is waiting at the very Gates of Bethlehem & the other fine Settlements of the United Brethren in Northampton County. The Magistrates have begun with issuing General Warrants against the whole Community & imprisoning of 10 Persons.

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[105] Lewis William Weiss, counsellor-at-law and justice in Philadelphia. Born in Berlin, Dec. 28, 1717, he had been trained for the ministry in the Moravian Theological Seminary at Lindheim, in the Wetteravia, but held no charge after coming to America, in 1755. However, he did render the Church very important services as attorney for many years. He was a close friend of Ettwein's who valued his advice highly. Ettwein's correspondence makes frequent and favorable mention of him. Died at Philadelphia, Oct 22, 1796. For an account of his life see *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. XV, page 361ff.

In three Months Time the whole Brotherhood may be upon the last Stage of all their Toil and Labour in this Country, when Banishment of their Persons & Confiscation of their Estates, agreeable to the 4th Section of the Act for the further Security of the Government, must follow of Course, without the Legislature of the State will timely interpose in Favour of a sober, quiet & industrious People, who have ever been obedient to the Laws & sought the Good of the Country in which they live & who at this very Time are willing to promise Faith & Allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania & not to do or countenance any Thing injurious to the United States of America.

In this critical Situation of their Affairs & in these sincere Professions of their Allegiance & Fidelity your Memorialists most humbly pray for the Benefit & Effect of the above mentioned Resolve of the late House of Assembly.

And forasmuch as by the Favour of Gods holy Providence our State is, since the Month of April, when the aforesaid Law was made, rendered more secure in the Exercise of its Government, it may perhaps at this Day be not inconsistent with the Welfare of this & the other States of America, if that same Law should not be executed to its utmost Rigour, without it be against Persons who shall prove to be inimical to the State or shall be in the Opinion of the Courts of Justice, upon good Grounds, become suspected of entertaining such inimical Dispositions, which seems to your Memorialists to have been the very Intention of the said Act of Assembly, as it has been the constant Practice in England upon those Acts of Parliament against Papists, from which it is copied.—

And your Memorialists as in Duty bound &c.

To prove that there was no foundation for the notion that the representations made against abjuring were only representations of individual persons, this petition was signed by 400.[106] additional persons; in Bethlehem no one refused to sign it except Andrew Schober,[107] who, no doubt, had taken the test secretly, and John Okely and H. v. Vleck.[108]

Toward the end of October, I went to Philadelphia with this petition.[109] A long time passed, before the Assembly began its

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106 The copy of this memorial which is appended to the Herrnhut MS states that it bore 294 signatures.

107 A stone mason, originally from Moravia.

108 Henry Van Vleck, formerly a prominent merchant in New York City, where he had been born, Sept. 17, 1722. He died in Bethlehem, Jan. 25, 1785.

109 On Nov. 7, 1778, Ettwein was Henry Laurens' guest in his Philadelphia residence. Col. Williams, delegate to Congress from North Caro-

sessions. 2. Quakers had been condemned to the gallows, Roberts and Carlisle, 2. old and otherwise highly respected and beloved men. 4. thousand people had signed a petition to the Assembly to spare their lives, but the Presbyterians had contrived to prevent the House from assembling before they had been hanged. The President of Congress[110] had interceded for them in person; but Quakers were to be and had to be hung in Philadelphia, etc. I was present to witness it, meditating with unusual fervor upon our doctrinal text: "For none of us liveth to himself", etc. [Rom. 13:7]

I and Br. Sydrich[111] presented the petition to Speaker Bayard who introduced it in the Assembly[112] and did all in his power

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lina, had also been invited to dine with them. The conversation, as recorded in the Bethlehem Diary, on Nov. 11, 1778, reveals more plainly than any studied description could Henry Laurens' attitude toward the Moravians. "The President spoke of the Brethren in such strong terms as to embarrass me. He said: their offer to affirm loyalty to the State should be sufficient. Any persecution of them might bring the judgment of God upon the land and perhaps prolong the war for 20 years; the European powers would conceive very unfavorable ideas of the American States, etc. The Colonel confessed that the Brethren were useful to the country and that the State needed them. But he added: that whatever the majority of the Assembly would determine on, God could not punish. The President replied with great gravity: 'Then our appeal to God, as the just Judge against England, would be vain. If we believe in the one case that God will take the part of the oppressed, we must believe it in other cases too; I am no Moravian, but I profess to be a religious man!'"

110 Henry Laurens.

111 Daniel Sydrich was the minister in charge of the Moravian congregation in Philadephia at this time.

112 The entry for Nov. 9, 1778, in *Journals of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, vol. I, reads: "A memorial from a very considerable number of the respected members of the church called *Unitas Fratrum*, vulgarly *Moravians*, setting forth that they did in May last petition the late General Assembly (for the subject of which they refer to the said petition)—that the said Assembly in answer thereto declared 'That they were ready and willing to grant them every encouragement and protection in their power, consistent with the duty they owe to their constituents and the welfare of the united states of *America*'—that they confided in that declaration and would not now have troubled this house, had it not been for some late rigorous examples, under the act for the further security of government, in the county of *Northampton*—that now the fruits of all their toil and labour in *Bethlehem*, and their other settlements in this country, are threatened and indangered—that they are willing to promise faith and allegiance to the state—and praying 'for the benefit and effect of the above mentioned resolve of the house of assmbly,' was read and ordered to lie on the table."

for it; an evil faction, however, endeavored to hinder anything that might result in alleviation of the oppressed. Whenever the moderates tried to secure any concession, it had to be sprinkled with fire and brimstone. That was the case with the act of the 5th of Dec., which finally gave us security and tranquillity. The lawmakers now feared that many of those who had finally taken the test would turn against them when they would come up for election. Therefore, they tried to exclude them; all who had taken the test after June 1, 78 were still to swear the following before being recognized as Freemen of the State. (It constitutes the oath of allegiance since Dec. 78.)

I A. B. do solemnly & sincerely declare & swear or affirm, *that the State of Penns: is & of right ought to be a free sovereign & independent State*—And *I do for ever renounce & refuse all Allegiance, Subjection & Obedience to the King or Crown of Gr. Br.* And I do further swear (or solemnly sincerely and truly declare & affirm) that *I never have*, since the Declaration of Independence, directly or indirectly aided, assisted, abetted or in any wise countenanced the King of Gr. Br. his Generals, Fleets or Armies, or their Adherents, in their Claims upon these U. States, and that I have ever since the Declaration of the Independence thereof demeaned myself as a faithful Citizen & Subject of this or some one of the United States. And that *I will at all Times, maintain & support* the Freedom, Sovereignty & Independence thereof.

All persons holding office were to take this oath before the 1st of April, and no one was to hold any office at all unless he had previously taken the oath. For it continues:

And be it farther enacted—That every Person who has not taken the Oath or Affirmation directed to be taken by the said Laws, on or before the first Day of June last—& who shall refuse or neglect to take or subscribe the Oath or Affirmation of Allegiance herein prescribed, shall be & is hereby declared to be excluded from & incapable of electing or being elected into or holding any Office or Place of Trust under this Government & of serving on Juries during the Time of such Neglect or Refusal; but that all other Penalties, Incapacities & Disabilities imposed by any former Acts of Assembly, shall from henceforth cease & determine.

We gave thanks to our dear Saviour for this aid; we neither desire to elect to office nor to be elected thereto, and to be freed from jury duty in such a time represents a very real benefaction for us.

On Oct. 1, 1779, another Supplement to the Test-Act was passed. It reads in part:

Those who shall fail or refuse (in the time herein allotted to them) *to take* the oath or affirmation prescribed in the aforesaid act published on Dec. 5, 78, and to subscribe to it, shall, if an inhabitant of the County —Berks or Northampton, within 35. days of the date of this act be excluded from all public offices or positions within this government and shall be incompetent to elect others or themselves to be elected thereto, or to sit on juries, or to conduct school, except in private homes; yet with the proviso that these acts shall not exclude them from filling the positions of surveyors of highways, collectors of public taxes, or guardians of paupers. And it shall hereby be further enacted, that all persons who thus shall refuse or neglect to take the aforesaid oath or affirmation within the time herein decreed and determined, shall be forever excluded from taking it and be deprived of all rights and privileges of a citizen or of citizens who have conformed to these acts.

This gave occasion for new agitation; it was said: the nonjurors were threatened with onerous taxes and that they would be treated harshly in other ways! We, therefore, deliberated in another [session of] Prov. H. Conference: whether we could, within the allotted period, still do anything further for the protection of the Brethren? Whether we ought to advise some of them to take *this* test? Or whether we should make some further representation to the Assembly with regard to the matter? The latter was put to the question * [by lot]; we were [directed], however, silently to disregard this last act. Yet, upon the advice of my Brethren, I did go to Philad. in the matter, since Mr. Laurens had wished to see me before leaving Philad. for Charlestown. But I discovered no trace of any kind of a reason there for regret or disquiet at our not having taken the test. My visit and report afforded some of my Brethren little satisfaction; and, because I left for Hope, Br. v. Schweiniz was sent to Philad: once more, to seek counsel from man. However, nothing was to be done but to remain patient and quiet.

The passing of time works many changes and sets a limit to all things.[113] There are abundant examples and proofs of the fact

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[113] Ettwein's observation certainly held true in this particular case. By 1788, he could report: "As a matter of fact, the Brethren are recognized and respected as good and conscientious citizens; but they have to pay for it and constantly shoulder onerous duties with which expense is connected. No court or trial is held without almost half of the jury being made up of Brethren from Beth., Naz., and Emaus; and where arbitrators have to be selected, in any case, they are sought for as well." E.P. No. 1333. As late as 1793, however, the attitude of Moravians toward militia service remained a burning question. It was

that our present Pennsylv. laws have no permanence, because they were passed while things were at fever heat and are based on a mass of injustices. E. g., in Dec., 1778, they passed a law which reads in part:

And whereas the Practice of buying & selling the Necessaries of Life & other Commodities with hard Money or Specie, is one of the Means of depreciating the Continental Bills of Credit. Be it enacted—that from & after passing of this Act no Person or Persons whatsoever, within the Common-Wealth shall buy or sell any of the Necessaries of Life or other Commodities with or for hard Money; And if any Person shall be convicted of buying or selling, or offering to buy or sell, any Merchandize Commodities or any of the Necessaries of Life or renting of Houses or Lands for hard Money, contrary to this Act, he or she so offending shall forfeit or pay for the Use of this State, Fifty Pounds & the Value of the Things, so bought or sold or offered to be bought or sold, or to the Amount of the Rent asked or demanded, for such House or Lands.

This law has not been repealed. But the Executive Council had a resolution printed in June of 1780: that tax collectors should accept a silver dollar in lieu of 60. continental dollars and that the commissioners should see to it that specie should not be exchanged.

I have often secretly marvelled at the patience and great faithfulness of our dear Saviour towards us, and taken pleasure in observing how carefully He apportioned our burdens to our strength. Before the trials brought about by the test came upon us, He caused the Singl. Brethren in Bethl. to regain their Choir-House. In Litiz, where they still had the hospital, they were not molested in the matter of the test, though they brought difficult times upon themselves. Indeed, we must testify to God's glory that, throughout the 2. years, we have had peace within our borders; even with regard to the militia matter things were quite bearable. And whoever desired, might have observed the war, or heard about it, with all the detachment of a person living in France. But we should recognize our good Saviour's benefactions among us, His wayward children, more fully. Also the

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then decided that in settlement congregations no members should render military service, even though their own conscience should permit such an act, lest they offend others. In town and country congregations, each individual was to be guided by his own conscience. E.P. No. 1068.

effectiveness with Him of the prayer of the Church.[114]

From Sept., 77, until in June, 78, the English had possession of Philadelphia, and both main armies lay some 20. miles from each other throughout that whole time.

In May, 78, Congress received the treaty which France had concluded and, at the same time, word that Count D'Estaign was coming to America with a great fleet to drive the English out of it. Simultaneously, the English commissioners, Carlisle. Wm. Eden, and George Johnston arrived in Philadelphia and offered Congress a settlement on very honorable and generous terms. But the latter were too inflated by their negotiations with France to listen to England. They informed the commissioners: that they would not consider entering upon negotiations with them for peace and trade, unless England first would recognize their independence or withdraw its fleets and armies. I learned in Yorktown, already, that some members of Congress sincerely regretted that they had received the treaty before the arrival of the commissioners; they would have welcomed them gladly. Mr. said to me: "They offer us more, than we ever have desired, but it is too late, we cannot—. Some think all done now, I cannot think so; England has a great Power & may destroy the French & Spanish Navy in *two*, yea *perhaps one* Year; if it falls, it will fall like a great Oak."

1778. When the English received warning to expect the French fleet, they also got positive orders to evacuate Philad:. They thereupon retreated through Jersey to New York, Washington keeping in contact with them. On the 28th of June it came to a sharp engagement in Monmouth C.; General Lee had to bear the blame for the American defeat and was removed as a result. The garrison at Newport was reenforced from NYork just in time, before being besieged by a large army of N. Englanders under General Sullivan and the French fleet. When the emergency was at its height, the English fleet appeared, and the French took to sea to evade it. A mighty storm did considerable damage to both fleets and prevented a naval engagement. The

[114] The Herrnhut MS adds: "Mr. Benj. Francklin made such use in Paris of the news of the capture of Burgoin and his troops, that he succeeded in getting a public treaty between France and America on Feb. 6, 1778."

French, being badly crippled, ran into Boston; and since D'Estaign informed Sullivan that he could not give him any assistance for some time to come, the N.E. were obliged to abandon their undertaking and withdraw with heavy loss.

Soon all kinds of altercations broke out in Boston and minor skirmishes between Catholics and Presbyterians, between the easy-going French and the serious-minded Bostonians. The fleet left for the West Indies after having been repaired and provisioned; the English fleet in part preceded and in part followed it thither.

That summer they made preparations in S. Carolina to take St. Augustin in Florida from the English; but after much effort and considerable expense, they had to give this up, too. On the other hand, Florida forces invaded Georgia that fall, ravaging it badly; and toward the end of the year the English took possession of Savanna and nearly the whole of Georgia.

1779. Both sides in America were bent on maintaining the defensive, and the war was carried on more vigorously in the W. Indies. 4 to 5 thousand men under General Sullivan pushed from Easton into the Indian country,[115] destroying their poor huts and maize fields. Another party did the same from Albany,[116] and Col. Brodhead marched against the Senecas along the Upper Ohio; so that the Americans used their main strength and untold sums in the war against the Indians.[117]

At the same time, they had concerted a plan with their allies to drive the English out of Georgia. They collected a respectable army from the southern Provinces under General Lincoln. Count D'Estaign came from the West Indies with a French fleet and 4. to 5. thousand soldiers to trap the English in Georgia. Everywhere they were hailing victory already, never doubting

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[115] The Herrnhut MS adds: "For which purpose 1500 horses had been purchased."

[116] The Herrnhut MS reads: "Pitsburg."

[117] The Herrnhut MS adds: "On the 16th of July, the Americans surprised Stony point, an English outpost on the North River [Hudson] not far from West point, and took several hundred prisoners."

[118] The Herrnhut MS adds: "Because the French engineers declared it would be slow to take them by regular methods and d'Estaigne did not have much time to spend on this coast, they resolved upon storming the place, lost many men, and had to withdraw."

they would deal with them as with Burgoin. But neither General Prescot, who commanded there, nor his soldiers under him, let the French frighten them,[118] threw up entrenchments, defended themselves bravely when attacked in , and killed many French and Americans. The former charged the latter with having borne themselves poorly. And the Americans took offense at D'Estaign's having summoned the city to surrender in the name of his King. According to Gen'l Lincoln's report to Congress, he, the Admiral and General, suffered not only very painful wounds but also deep chagrin at seeing the venture he had intended so well turn out so ill. He had requested many thousand barrels of flour, and measures and arrangements were being taken in Pennsylvania accordingly, but he did not have time to await the supplies; he took as much rice and meat from Charlestown as they could spare him and returned, wounded, to France.

The English army thereupon spread into S. Carolina, up to the very outskirts of Charlestown.[119] However, they wanted to let Sir Henry Clinton have the honor of taking it. He sailed from Georgia and South Carolina on the Sunday after Christmas with 10. thousand men, but was delayed by a mighty storm which scattered his ships and crews so that part of them were driven to the West Indies. Wherever the ships could enter, the English wrought great havoc. In Virginia they took very many negroes and ships (some 70.) and several magazines with war supplies. In Connecticut they burned a number of small towns and plundered New Haven. On Penobscot River the New Englanders had collected quantities of timbers for masts and other ship-building lumber for the use of Congress and its allies and were ready to fetch them. But the English, who also needed them, came from Nova Scotia and took possession of Penobscot Bay and built a fort there. Thereupon, a fleet of 32. ships was fitted out in Boston in greatest haste, frigates, privateers, and other vessels. They sailed thither with 4. to 5. thousand men in order to capture the English before they should ensconce themselves. The newspapers already reported that they had all been taken. But a number of prisoners in Boston had gotten pos-

[119] The Herrnhut MS adds: "taking much booty. The Americans occupied Charlestown and fortified it as well as they could. South Carolina now became the theatre of war."

session of a shallop during the night; they brought word of this venture to N. York and was immediately sent in pursuit of them with a number of warships. These reached Penobscot very speedily and came upon the N. Englanders on the very day on which they planned to storm the breastworks of the English. As soon as they saw the English ships, they prepared to give battle. But when they found themselves opposed by great men-of-war, while they had only frigates with 32. cannon, they retreated up the river. When they were pursued, one crew after the other fled on shore, setting fire to their ships, so that the English took only 3. or 4. of them. The poor fellows had to find their way empty-handed back to Boston, several 100. miles on foot through the forest. A number willingly surrendered; of the rest very many are said to have starved and perished on the way. According to the specifications of the ships which they had lost, these carried a total of 300. cannon and were provisioned for a number of months. The New Englanders counted this the worst and most painful loss which they had suffered up to that time.

In this year Congress money rapidly sank to nothing. In January and February, 1. dollar still was worth the same as a shilling formerly, namely, 1. guinea could be bought for 35. doll:; and, before the close of the year, 1. doll. could scarcely be reckoned as worth 2 d [two pence]. (On Jan. 2, 79, Congress recalled all its old currency issued between May 20, 77 and April 11, 78; after the 1st of June it was to be worthless.[120] In 79, 15. million were to be paid by the States and thereafter 6. mill: annually for 18. years, in order to retire the other money.[121]) Quite a paper war was carried on about this; in an Address to the People [122] Congress reckoned its debt at 300. million and acted

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120 The Herrnhut MS adds: "The pretext advanced by them was that much of this emission had been counterfeitted. This represented a blow to the credit of congressional money."

121 Herrnhut MS adds: "Because many people ascribed the depreciation to the excessive amount of credit slips, a resolution was passed, a few months later, to raise 45. million dollars more each year."

122 The Herrnhut MS substitutes for this whole section the following: "In Sept., 79, Congress issued an Address to the People, in which it said: 'You nobly preferred War. Money became necessary—of your own there was but little. Bills were issued & your Faith was pledged for their Redemption—thus a national Debt was unavoidably created &

as though they could not dream of 1. doll. on their paper slips finally being worth less than a Spanish silver dollar, etc. However, only a few months passed before they resolved to declare themselves insolvent and promised to pay their creditors 6 d in the £, *i.e.* 40. to 1. And since they could not pay even this in

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the amount of it is as follows:

Bills emitted & circulating	159,948,888	Dollars
Moneys borrowed before March 78.) the interest in France paid)	7,545,196	D.
Moneys borrowed since	26,188,901	D.
Money due abroad, circa	4,000,000	D.

The Supplies to Congress by the People of America as yet—amount to no more than 36,771,665 Doll. that being the Sum of Loans & Taxes received.

On the 1st Day of Sept'r resolved: That we would on no account whatever emit more Bills of Credit, than to make the whole amount of such Bills 200. Millions of Dollars. There are at present 3 000 000 of Inhabitants in the States, 300. Mill. of Doll. divided among them would give to each Person 100. Dollars & is there an individual in America unable, in the Course of 18 or 20. years, to pay it again?—We heretofore paid an annual Tax to Brittain of 3. Mill: lb. in the Way of Trade & still grew rich. — '

They acted at this point as though it could not occur to them, that one of their paper Doll: could represent less to its holder than a Spanish silver Dollar. But only a few months passed, before they realized, it would be better to be guided by popular opinion and to pay 6 pence instead of 20 shill. But since even this was not to be had (despite all negotiations for loans), it was decreed that each State should take its share upon itself and cause new credit slips to be printed. A nominal £ of these was to pay £40 congressional. In the summer of 1780, the rate was 60. to 1; then it rose to 75. and stood there until in May, 1781. Council then declared the rate of exchange to be 175. for 1, indicating that after the 1st of June no congressional money was to be current. This represented almost a coup de grace for all paper money. For the new State money was supposed to have the value of gold and silver, a 20 shill. bill to equal 175£ congressional gold. That meant the credit of a single one of the united States was supposed to be 175 times greater than its own credit with that of the other States—or of all Sates together. N.b. even this new State currency was already being exchanged at the rate of 6. to 10. Doll: for a Spanish Silver Dollar. This monetary confusion ruined many honest, upright people, and caused us very great losses. The settlement of Hope lost 800£ good money in a single year, because, for a long time, no payment was made for the flour and wheat which the commission had forced them to deliver, and then it was paid in bad money. For example, they delivered 600 cwt of flour in June 78 and were promised 33 shill. P.C. [Penn'a currency] for it. In Feb'r 79 they got their pay in congressional money, and, by that time, 33 Shill. congressional money was not worth quite 3 Shill. 4. d. They had bought or given credit for the wheat for this flour at 5 Shill: silver the bushel, etc. Many unscrupulous people paid back funded debts. The law sanctioned their repaying their creditors 5 Shillings or even only one Shill. for a half a 'Johannes' or 3£. Thousands of widows and orphans thus lost their rightful property."

specie, the States were to apportion the amount among themselves and have new credit slips printed, of which Congress should pay a nominal £40. by £. Congress decreed, in the year 79, that 60. million dollars were to be raised by taxes.

The first thing that happened in the year 1780 was that General Clinton and Cornwallis invested Charlestown by land and Adm. Arbuthnot by water. General Lincoln had withdrawn thither with the continental troops and with many militia, and had fortified it quite considerably. And since they hoped daily for relief by the French and Spaniards, they held out until the 12th of May, when they capitulated, surrendering as prisoners of war. Cornwallis moved into the upper part of S. Carolina and encamped at Cambden, otherwise Pine Tree,[123] on the border of N. Carolina; there many loyalists from both the Carolinas joined him.

On the 16th of Aug.,[124] it came to a battle between Cornwallis and Gates in which the Americans were defeated. But they rallied again soon after. Gen'l Green[125] was then given the command in the South.[126] But both sides contented themselves with merely annoying the enemy until in Feb., 81, when General Morgan made a surprise attack on a portion of the English army on Broad River, taking sev. hundred prisoners, with whom he withdrew into N. Carolina. Cornwallis pursued the Americans to the Dan River, where, at Guilford, it again came to a bloody battle, on the 15th of March, in which about 600. Engl. and sev. thousand Amer. fell.

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123 The Herrnhut MS adds: "and Ninety-six, erecting forts."

124 The Herrnhut MS adds: "not far from Cambden"

125 The Herrnhut MS adds: "a Rhode Islander"

126 The Herrnhut MS adds: "'and gathered an army again, chiefly of militia. The condition of both Carolinas was deplorable, since not only the armies on both sides plagued the inhabitants with raids and high-handed exactions, but they themselves were divided into 2. parties, Tories and Whigs, as they called each other. They hated and persecuted each other to the extreme. Since they came into power alternately, both parties were set upon in turn, neighbor by neighbor, and imprisoned, robbed, even killed. Unhappily, the Brethren in Wachovia, had to hear and experience more of this than we. That they were able to survive as they did, despite great pressure and suffering, our dear Father in heaven be thanked."—For details of this, see A. L. Fries: *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, vol. IV.

The French entered Newport in August and entrenched themselves there.[127]

In September, Benedict Arnold,[128] a General and Commandant of Fort West Point on the N. River [Hudson] sought to make his peace with England, concerting a plan with Gen'l Clinton to deliver the fort with sev. thousand men and G. Washington into his hands. It miscarried through the capture of Gen'l-adjutant Andree; Arnold decamped to New York and thereafter entered the service of the English as Brigadier General.

1781. One could conclude from the movements of the Engl. troops that N. Carolina and Virginia were their principle objectives.

General Arnold encamped with sev. thousand men in the Cheasapeak Bay region[129] below the James river; General Philips soon followed him with a couple of thousand men.[130] Because the Engl. fleet suffered severely from a storm in Gardiner's Bay, not far from Rhode Island, the French seized the opportunity to sail with a fleet to Cheasapeak Bay in order to surprise the English there. But the Engl. fleet pursued them at once, and it came to a naval engagement outside the Bay, which resulted in the French being compelled to return to Newport and the Engl. retaining command of Cheasapeak Bay. The Americans had defeated an Engl. corps in the fall of 80. in N. Carolina, taking sev. 100. prisoners whom they brought to Wachovia.[131] In February, in upper S. Carolina, Gen'l Morgan drove home another such blow against them, taking a quantity of prisoners there. However, L'd Cornwallis rapidly pursued them as far as the Dan river, marching through Bethania, Bethabara, and Salem.[132] Thus, on the 15th of March, it came to a bloody battle between Cornwallis and Green near Guilford C.H. [Court House], 27 m.

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[127] The Herrnhut MS adds: "but did nothing else, since they were pretty thoroughly shut in there by English warships."

[128] The Herrnhut MS adds: "(formerly a merchant in Newhaven, in Connecticut)"

[129] The Herrnhut MS adds: "near Portsmuth"

[130] The Herrnhut MS adds: "(but died soon after, due to a severe fever)"

[131] The district in North Carolina owned by the Moravian Church.

[132] Moravian settlements in Wachovia, N. C.

from Salem, in which more casualties were left on the field than ever had been seen in America before.

Cornwallis thereupon, through lack of provisions, marched to Cape Fear.[133] Green marched with the forces which he had collected again from Virg. and N. Carolina, through N. Carolina to Cambden, on the border of S. Carolina, where he planned to surprise L'd Raden, but thus fell into the pit that had been dug for him.

But, because the land was exhausted and the Engl. found it difficult to maintain themselves in the upper portion of it, they retired from Cambden, the Americans driving them from place to place as far as Charlestown, retaking Augusta in Georgia. In Virginia, Cornwallis marched about along the main river, hunting for Amer. stores and burning many 100. cwt. of tobacco. The French General La Fayette gathered an army, composed chiefly of militia, against them. There were several skirmishes, but one cannot say that either side did much more than create want, misery, and destruction throughout the land.[134]

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[133] The Herrnhut MS adds: "where another detachment had taken and occupied Willmington, a short time before."

[134] The Herrnhut MS adds: "In June, several thousand troops and 4. to 5. thousand New Englanders marched to White plains on the east side of the North-River [Hudson]; it is said they planned to . . "

EDITORIAL NOTE.

The following document (E.P. No. 1293) presents Ettwein's answer to the report of the committee of the Pennsylvania General Assembly, to which the petition of the Moravians had been referred in May, 1778. (See page 294 of this work.) There is no evidence to indicate the use to which he intended to put it.

Ettwein argued on behalf of men and women who held themselves bound inviolably by any sacred promise. To abjure allegiance to the King of Great Britain involved, in their opinion, a permanent renunciation of his government. This they were not willing to undertake, in view of the uncertainty of the political future of this country and of their own movements, both as individuals and as a society. On the other hand, they stood ready to promise obedience to the newly constituted authorities in Pennsylvania, as long as they, and not the British government, held de facto power over them. Thus their position—a willingness to affirm allegiance to revolutionary officials and a refusal to take the oath of abjuration—was not as illogical as it appeared on the surface.

A FEW REMARKS ON THE REASONS OF THE GENERAL-ASSEMBLY OF PENSILVANIA, FOR NOT GRANTING THE PETITION OF THE MORAVIANS, AS PUBLISHED IN THE GEN'L ADVERTIZER 25th OF MAY 1778.

The Petition was not signed in the Name of the Moravians as the House pleaseth to call them, with the Vulgar. Unitas Fratrum or United Brethren is their proper Denomination, by which they are known & received in all Germany, Russia & England. There is not one Moravian to a hundred others. Tho' it is but a matter of Form, we pray not to make it a Precedent.

Ad 1st The Declaration of Congress is not disputed by the Petitioners. Yet the Congress of a later Date, than the Petition, says in their Address to the People: "We made a Solemn Appeal "to the Tribunal of unerring Wisdom & Justice. To that all-"mighty Ruler of Princes, whose Kingdom is over all.—alltho' "much is done yet much remains to do!

Now! who can say: whether the Declaration or Congress has been ratified or rather decreed in Heaven or not? Time only will shew that. But this Reason could stand as well, for granting the Petition, as it is used against it.

Ad 2d We are not the People, who prefer a Slavish Dependance on any King or Prince of the Earth to their Liberty & natural Rights; We do not expect & never desired lucrative offices; We know of no unworthy Motives; We never had reason to Screen ourselves from the Notice of Gouvernment; Being desirous to have Peace with all Men, being no ones Enemy, we could have wished to be perfectly neuter, in ev'ry Respect, yet we found that could not be & therefore we have been assisting the Country in all lawful Ways. And tho' we do profess a perfect Neutrality in pulling down the old & setting up a new Gouvernment, We never shall be active against the Liberties of America.

We cannot consider the Abjuration as a proper Discrimination to distinguish the Friends from the Enemies of the Land. Whosoever can swear or affirm Allegiance to the State & act a contrary Part, such a one will not Scruple to take the Test, as it stands

& do what he pleases, whatsoever his Religion or Society may be called.

Ad 3d Why should it not be possible that any Person could bear true Allegiance to the United States, without abjuring the King of Gr. Br. his Heirs & Successors? By this reasoning the King of Prussia can not have one faithful Subject in Silesia (but we know the Contrary) and there cannot be one truly loyal Man in such Countries, which by Conquest or otherwise have changed their Masters. Scripture teaches us: to be Subject to such as have Power over us (no one in America will say: in all Cases whatsoever) We are, as much as lies in us, to have Peace with all Men; to forgive & even to love our Enemies; but we find not the least Hint, to abjure a King into whose Dominions we may have Occasion to move or fly from Persecution and Oppression.

Ad 4th The Petitioners make it evident, that the People on whose Behalf they were presented, do consider a General Test of Allegiance to the State consistent with a good Conscience, according to Rom: 13. But a reservation of Allegiance to a Power & a Non abjuration or Non-Promiss to refuse Allegiance to it, are very different Things, in our Opinion. We owe to the State, where we just find ourselves Allegiance; but we love our liberty & Natural Rights so well, that we always would choose to reside, where we can enjoy the most of them. Patria est ubi bene est. [My fatherland is wherever it goes well with me.]

Ad 5th The renouncing Allegiance to the Pretender, we can in Conscience never compare with the present Case. The Germans never owed that Family any Sort of Allegiance; We all know it to be a Roman Catholik Family without any Territory, where Providence could place us in. And as many, as have taken that Test, had no Scruple to do it.

Ad 6th The Reason "That the House in all their Delibera-"tions hath carefully avoided giving offence to any religious "Society, by granting any Indulgence or Preference to another." might be a Sufficient Reason for treating all Nonjurors differently from all such who have taken the Test. But as Liberty of Conscience has been established by law, no Restraint should be put upon it, to gratify one or the other Persuasion.

That some of all Societys have freely & voluntarily taken & Subscribed the Oath or Affirmation, this Circumstance rather affords a just Ground to inferr: that the Objections made, are realy the Objections of Conscience; That different Men have different Opinions of the Oaths or Affirmations & that their Understandings and Consciences are different; some are not ashamed to call a Thing voluntary to which they have been compelled; some even mind their worldly Interest & Gain, more than their Principles & moral Obligations.

It is said: "This House cannot grant Relief to the Petitioners "without giving Offence to those who have already taken the "Oath or Affirmation." If they have taken it voluntary & have the Priviledge to elect & be elected, to have the Posts of Profit & Honour, why should they be offended, if Others who could not do it voluntarily were despised with their Scruples & not minded? What did the Petitioners pray for? For Liberty of Conscience! not to be punish'd without being found guilty of some Crime! to protect their Persons & Property against Violence & Oppression; to let them have the Benefit of the Laws against Evil-Doers; to grant us at least a Tolerance as peacable Strangers, that we may continue still & quiet in our Habitations & Serve our Neighbours & the Publik, if they want it in our usual lawful Callings! And this we pray'd for Mercys Sake; tho' all humane & divine Laws, make it a Duty to grant it!

What Christian would be offended by granting such humble, such reasonable Requests?

Bethlehem May 29th 1778.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

The following document (E.P. No. 941) is the draft of a letter written by Ettwein to Bishop Matthew Hehl. The latter was pastor of Lititz and had oversight over the congregations in the whole district of which that settlement was the center. It is evident from this letter and from other references in the records, that Bishop Hehl inclined to tolerate conformity to the Test Act on the part of Moravians, urging the boards, meanwhile, to take practical steps to protect all whose scruples prevented them from carrying out its provisions.[1] This letter is valuable in that it affords the clearest and most concise statement of the position maintained by Ettwein and those who followed his leadership on this vexed question.

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[1] For instance: "Since Bro. Matthew in Litiz and various other Brethren urgently reccommend that the Brethren should appear before Congress or the Assembly to protest against the Test-Act and also the last Militia-Act . . . " Statement by Ettwein, July 10, 77—see the Washington photostats, No. 2, folio 9.

LETTER OF JOHN ETTWEIN TO BISHOP HEHL, JUNE 1st [1777?]

[Translation]

Dearly beloved Brother Matthew [Hehl]

I have duly received your welcome [letter] of the 26th of May, and I thank you very much for having thus communicated your ideas concerning the course of action, which this attack upon our freedom of conscience in the matter of bearing arms makes desirable for us. While I was in Hhuth [Herrnhut] in 1744, it also occurred that we had to furnish 2. recruits and were placed in a very distressing position. 2. Brethren volunteered to help the congregation out of its distressing position; but the following day 2. outsiders offered to serve for the sake of the money. From that time on, I have been firmly opposed to the bearing of arms. This incident has also been cited to me as an argument, namely, as you have put it: it is not so dangerous for one's conscience to pay a man to act as one's substitute. That, no doubt, was what you meant to express by the instance to which you referred and the words: "The lord of the manor [*i.e.* Zinzendorf] paid a fellow from Bertholdsdorf who volunteered for this, and that finished the matter." To me, a thing that did occur in Lusatia in 40, and again in 44, before our Saviour had secured such space and freedom for us, proves exactly as much about the correctness of the matter, as when some one tells me, Br. N. G.[2] and Br. Kornmann and the Brethren in Ytown [York] and Lancaster have hired fellows as their substitutes. It seems to me one can say regarding this: "Let each man be fully assured in his own mind." [Rom. 14:5] I consider the exemptions

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[2] George Neisser, born at Sehlen, Moravia, April 11, 15, and died at Philadelphia, Nov. 1, 84. He came of a family that remained loyal to the Unitas during the years of severe persecution, his father emigrating to Herrnhut in 1723 with wife and children. George Neisser came to Savanna, Georgia, in the second contingent of Moravian colonists, in 1735. Two years later, he went to Pennsylvania where he later became one of the founders of Bethlehem. In 1748 he was ordained, and thereafter he served the Church in many capacities and in various places. He belonged to the small group of Moravian clergy who wholeheartedly espoused the cause of the Colonies from the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. As pastor in Lancaster, 1775-1784, he was confirmed in his attitude by his intercourse with leading American patriots.

granted the Brethren in our day to be a great reward for the small degree of faithfulness shown by the Brethren from the beginning in this matter. I am not the only one who emphatically considers going to war in person or providing a substitute to be one and the same wrong (n.b. I refer to Brethren), only, in the one case, one's own life and ease are better safe-guarded than in the other. But I, also, make an essential distinction between the action of the lord of some manor or the proprietor of an estate, in paying for some recruits on behalf of that community or estate, and an individual Brother who is summoned either to serve in person or to provide a substitute; I do not consider the former action to be contrary to freedom of conscience. You write: "There are enough of those who count their life cheap and who do not deserve any better, to last for the present war." My scruples are not caused by the fact that I might bring about their misfortune and death, should I by my money encourage them to fight, but by the fact that I am to reward someone, whether by my wish or contrary to my wish, to destroy people or to do them other violence and wrong in my name and in my stead. And in the case before us there is this additional consideration: "Shall I defend myself per proxy by force of arms against the King and Parl. who have granted me one of the most glorious exemptions?" For a Brother that would be the greatest ingratitude and an infamy.

Your distinction between a soldier and a murderer is right and just; the Bible and the laws of England also distinguish between murder and manslaughter. In my opinion a soldier and a manslaughterer are one and the same; though some soldiers never actually kill a person, another may perhaps kill many. It is not in a soldier's own power to avoid shedding human blood. He who hates his brother is also a manslaughterer; yet I will gladly yield as regards this phrase, too, and allow soldiers to be classed with executioners.

You write: "We are entangled in the present state of affairs no matter what we should like to do, etc." That is indeed so. No one can advise us or help us under these circumstances save our d. Lord. If only our Brethren would look to Him in simple-minded trust, there would be no danger. Should He permit any-

thing to come upon us, He would surely give us a confident heart and patience in suffering. But what I fear is the tendency to let selfwill, greed, ease, and a desire to escape the cross dictate [our course.] It is said: "No justice can be had in this country!" "There is no authority to protect the rights of the poor; we have to conform to the times!" "Might is superior to right!" "We might draw suffering upon us and bring about a persecution," and suchlike true, apparently valid, and dangerous arguments which go counter to the word of our d. Lord: "Blessed are ye, when men shall persecute you for righteousness' sake." [See Matt. 5:10,11] And all such arguments would fail to constitute an excuse for us over against the Brethren's-Unity and all impartial persons. They would ask: "What have you suffered?" "How have you proved that you cherished your freedom? That you are faithful subjects? That freedom of conscience and the right of your Church are dearer to you than money and property, yes than life and person?" "Was there none among you who preferred suffering to so shameful a surrender of such glorious privileges?" If we now endure some suffering for the sake of our principles and freedom, we shall approve ourselves in the sight of God and man; if we permit ourselves to be frightened and unmanned by threats, we must continue a shameful existence; and our adversaries will be encouraged to force us to renounce our faith and place ourselves on the level of this world.

As said before, we are entangled, at least the poor are, and we cannot evade suffering. Let a man pay his 70/—for refusing to drill and 5/—or 7/6 for each future occasion of mustering, he will have to permit himself to be robbed of his possessions and go to prison, unless he be willing to fight in the militia or provide a substitute. They are trying to make the latter alternative altogether impossible. In Bucks-County the officers immediately put the pay at 15£ for 2. months, and in Cushehopen they have paid 25.£. How can a poor Brother pay such sums, even if he felt free in his conscience to hire such a ——? Why should one first corrupt the Brethren and spare oneself more than other peaceful, well-intentioned people do in this land? The consequences of our maintaining our position or giving ground and yielding are too important; and I hold we should try to stiffen the weak Brethren and encourage them not to fear the struggle.

I would rather permit myself to be hacked to pieces than go to war, butcher people, rob people of their property or burn it down, swear that I owe no obedience to K.G., that I desire to help maintain the independence of Pensilv., until and before time and circumstances make it clear and incontestable that God has severed America from England.

For nothing can happen to me contrary to the will of my Father in heaven, and surely one can answer even a tyrant in the words of our Saviour: "Thou wouldest have no power against me, except it were given thee from above!" [John 19:11]
[It was in Litiz that the first Brethren determined not to meddle in any war; God forbid that the Brethren in Litiz of today should stray from that course][3] The conditions which prevail in the country at present have made the wisdom and the importance of this particular article of the Brethren's-Church so significant and invaluable, that I cannot describe the matter. Surely it is worth suffering somewhat for it. I only regret that one might answer me: "It is easy for you to say this; you are exempted from this temptation as a result of your position and age."

Dear Brother, bear with me in my having delivered myself thus and do not interpret it ill, that I have become so discursive.

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[3] Ettwein later deleted this sentence.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

The following document (E.P. No. 116) will give the reader a conception of the type of journals kept by Ettwein — and by other Moravians in this period — while carrying on their evangelistic activity in colonial America. It should be of particular interest to Moravians, for it also affords an inkling of the extent of the work formerly carried on by the Moravian Church in New England. Largely as a result of missionary activity among the Indians and of the frequent coming and going of missionaries to the West Indies via Newport and Boston, a promising field had opened to the Moravian Church in that region by the middle of the eighteenth century.

That Moravians were anxious to follow up their opportunities there is proven by contemporary records. The following interesting entry, found in the Results of the Synod held at Lebanon, Pa., June 1-4, 1758, paragraph 18, may serve as an example:

B'r Sölle, who hitherto hath assisted B'r Miller, is now getting ready to travel thro' New England. He may Act like a Pedlar, who travels on with his Goods, stoping only at such Places, where he imagines there are People who want to buy of him. It is true, all is now in a Ferment on Acc't of the War, in which — N. England has a considerable Part. 'Tis possible — however, there may be here & there a Soul, in a Corner, Sighing for Rest to his Heart, unto whom he may be a welcome Messenger. Our Blessing shall accompany him.

Despite this and subsequent repeated efforts, Moravian work failed of permanence throughout all New England.

ACCOUNT OF BROTHER ETTWEIN'S JOURNEY THROUGH NEWYORK—CONNECTICUT—AND RHODE-ISLAND—GOVERNMENT IN MARCH AND APRIL 1773.

[Translation]

♂ [Tuesday], the 2nd of March, I started out from Bethlehem and reached our Brethren and Sisters in Greenland[1] in Jersey, to whom I delivered an address in the evening on the watchword: "This day we perceive that the Lord is among us." [Joshua 22:31] Concerning the results of this knowledge: peace, love, fidelity. With Br. and Sr. Franz Böhler,[2] I had a blessed conversation about Sichem[3] and Kingsburry.[4]

The 3rd. At my night's lodging near Sussex Courthouse, my host addressed some deistic questions to me; I told him, simply and plainly, that I acknowledged Jesus Christ as my Lord and God and hold the Bible to be the word of God. That quieted him.

The 4th. Toward evening, I met a man who greeted me in a very friendly manner, and said to another person: "This is one of those, whom one can call evangelists!" When I asked him: whence he knew me? he said: he had heard me preach last summer along the Westbranch.[5] He accompanied me to my night's lodging, endeavored in every way to prove his love for me, and said to my host: "This is the preacher of whom I told you, that he journeyed with the Indians."

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[1] Later called "Hope".

[2] He was stationed in Greenland temporarily, having served Sichem up to the previous year. For biographical note see page 303.

[3] Sichem, a Moravian Home Mission station in the section called "The Oblong", Dutchess Co., N. Y., close to the Connecticut line. The congregation had been organized by Spangenberg in 1753. Francis Böhler, who left in 1772, was its last resident pastor. For a number of years it continued to be served by visiting ministers. The Bethlehem Diary, Memorabilia for 1772, states that Böhler was withdrawn because the congregation had decreased latterly by the removal of members to Gnadenhütten on the Mahony.

[4] Kingsbury, N. Y., situated above Fort Edward on the Hudson. Böhler had visited it while resident in Sichem. In 1773 he was sent there to attempt to form a congregation, but was withdrawn in 1775.

[5] The west branch of the Susquehanna.

The 5th. As I approached the North River [Hudson], I heard that the ice was no longer safe and that one could not cross in a boat either. I resolved, therefore, to follow the west bank up river and to journey through Gosen [Goshen] and Sopus [Esopus]. At an inn, where I made inquiry about the road, the mistress pitied me for journeying along such a bad road! I said: I hoped to find some good road too. She answered: "Yes! one finds the good and the bad everywhere, only few good people!" I said that that was cold comfort for me, since that was what I really sought and why I made the journey. That opened an opportunity for a conversation about Bethlehem and the teaching of the Brethren, and she said: "If the Moravians are such folk then I also am one and belong to their fellowship!" In my night's lodging with a Wm. Hill, I heard much that was pleasant about Grace Hill[6] in Ireland, my host and his wife having heard the Brethren Cennik,[7] Horn[8] and other Brethren preach.

The 6th. Because of the ice on the Pfalz Kill, I had to ride around for several miles and secure a guide, who showed me a place where the ice was still secure. I reached Sopus safely in the evening and thought to spend

The 7th in that place and observe Sunday. But I heard that nowhere at all were wooden bridges to be found over the creeks and that the ice was becoming very insecure. And, since I was providentially supplied with a companion who was familiar with the road and with the ice, I gave up my rest and journeyed on. My hostess, Bogardes, in Sopus was very ill, and I gave her good counsel for her soul. Crossing Sopus Creek and the Katskill was dangerous, the ice breaking all about at the edges under us.

The 8th. I met the Mahikander [Mohican] Cornelius in a certain house and asked him about his relations. But he said

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[6] A Moravian settlement near Ballymena, Co. Antrim, Ireland.

[7] John Cennick, outstanding Moravian evangelist and hymn writer, born in Reading, England, Dec. 12, 1718, and died in London, July 4, 1755. It was largely due to his ministry that the Moravian Church spread in southwest England and in Ireland.

[8] William Horne, an associate of Cennick's, who headed the Moravian work in Ireland after the latter's untimely death. Horne founded the settlement of Gracehill and labored there for many years.

he could tell me nothing about these people, because he had grown quite blind: that the Bethlehemites were good people. He has also been in Gnadenhütten.

Early ♂ [Tuesday], the 9th, I reached Albanien [Albany] and stopped in Mr. Tillman's home. He recognized me before I him, and said to his wife: "This is the man who was my guide in Bethlehem and who went with me to Nazareth!" I was made welcome and did not object to a short rest there. I called on the new Reformed minister Toll, where I also met the well known Pastor Hardwik; concerning the former I heard, that he preaches quite acceptably about the Saviour. I also met some other friends, those of Bro. David Tanneberger,[9] who spent some time there, installing a new organ.

The 10th. I passed through Lanzenburg [Lansingburg] or New City, 12 miles from Albanien on the east bank of the North River (Albanien lies on the west bank). There I visited Abraham v. Vleck, the son of Bro. John v. Vleck in Nyork; he wished that the Brethren might make a settlement there and was very friendly. In the evening I came to Still Water, a settlement of New Lights and Separates.[10] A Baptist, who journeyed with me, persuaded me to spend the night in the home of an Elisa [Elisha] Miller, where Bro. Fr. Böhler, too, had preached. Soon 20 - 30. people gathered together there and requested me to speak to them! I used our watchword[11] and spoke of searching in the Scripture and coming to Jesus. After me two others spoke and a third prayed, which lasted till midnight; never in all my life have I been so wearied by uninspired twaddle as there. At 12 o'clock, I did get something to eat; but only then the questioning began. My travelling companion, who had told me on the road, that he had been converted 2. years ago and had become a child of God, now confessed still to be a prisoner and a servant of sin!

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[9] David Tanneberger, born in Herrnhut, March 21, 1728, died in York, Pa., May 19, 1804. A joiner by trade, he came to America in 1749 and learned the craft of organ building in this country under John Gottlieb Klemm.

[10] New Lights and Separatists were converts of Whitefield who formed a Calvinistic Methodist sect in this country. Later, many of them adopted Baptist views.

[11] "The Lord hath been mindful of us: He will bless us; He will bless the house of Israel, He will bless the house of Aaron." Ps. 115:12.

So I tore down his foundation and said to him that he would have to become converted anew; for where Christ dwells in the heart, there is freedom etc. An old man, Anders, spoke quite like a Brother and finally inquired about Bro. Sölle[12] and John Wade,[13] who had preached in his home in New England.

The 11th. Near Saratoga I lost my way in the thicket and came by a sleighroad, after a few miles, to the medicinal spring, some 15 miles from Saratoga. The main spring is a wonder of nature. It is a marvellous rock, like a hay stack of medium height; in the center a hole, like in a mill stone, in which the water rises and falls like ebb and flow. At certain times it runs over, and the stone increases by means of the overflowing water and has years like a tree[14] and looks like grey ice or salt. If one drinks of the water or holds one's nose over it, it irritates the nose like carbonated water or good cider. Some doctors say that it is natural spa water. In the evening I reached Kingsbury, 60. miles from Albanien. The town is located along the N. River, on the east bank; the highway to Canada passes through it. Timothy Harris[15] was not at home, but I was made very welcome by his family.

The 12th and 13th. I visited the families in the neighborhood.

⊙ [Sunday], the 14th of March. I preached twice in Mr. Bradshaw's house, the largest in that region, and had probably 200. hearers from Kingsburry, Fort Edward, and Quensburry. My text was: "That Christ died for our sins, according to the Scrip-

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12 George Sölle, born at Erroe in Denmark, Nov. 6, 1709, died at Salem, May 4, 1773. He had received Lutheran orders in Schleswig, but later united with the Moravians, coming to this country in 1753. Here he did unusual work as an itinerant preacher, both in Penn'a and New England, though he also was active for a time as a teacher and helped edit the Moravian hymnal known as "Sarons Büchlein." He became instrumental in founding the Broadbay, Me., congregation. When most of its membership decided to migrate to Wachovia, he cast his lot with them, journeying thither with five families in 1770. He continued his evangelistic activity in North Carolina until his death.

13 John Wade, born in Bedford, England. He came to America in 1746 to take up evangelistic work in this country, but remained only for a few years. He returned to England.

14 A reference to the accumulating deposits of the overflowing water, in which Ettwein saw a resemblance to the year-rings of a tree trunk.

15 A member of the Sichem congregation.

tures, and that He was buried, and that He arose again the third day, according to the Scriptures,'' I Cor. 15.3.4. In a separate service I baptized 6. little children: Timothy Harris, Joseph and Benjamin Hawkin, George Ronnel, Anna Aschmann, and Rebecca M'Kenny. After the preaching service, the men repeated their request for a preacher from the Brethren. It is a fine new settlement, and many people live in that region already; but there is no preacher anywhere at all, excepting here or there a New Light.[10] I did not get to know many converted folk, but it is a great field for sowing.

Quensburry. ☽ [Monday], the 15th. Mr. Wing, a Quaker, sent a sleigh for me and Timothy Harris, asking us to visit him; he is a fine old man, who wishes the Gospel success and who, with his family, likes to hear Brethren preach.

In the afternoon I journeyed on; Timothy Harris accompanied me for several miles and spoke quite warmly and with feeling about the condition of his heart. He is very anxious that a Brother and a Sister might be sent to them; moreover he is one of the most respected and best loved men in that region.

The 16th. From Still Water I travelled west, by way of Long Lake to Baalstown [Ballston], a new settlement in high, thick forest; the head of the family requested me to conduct the evening devotions. So I read a chapter out of the letter to the Galatians and spoke of looking to Jesus and thereafter prayed. Mr. Wright, a Baptist from Shaftsbury, was present, and we had a blessed conversation concerning the foundation of our faith. Thence I had

☿ [Wednesday], the 17th of March, 12. miles to Shenectaty. From Still Water to Shenechtaty was a cruelly bad road; my horse sank so in the swamp that I recognized it to be the doing of the holy angels, that I got it out again.

In Shenechtaty I called at Mr. Clinch's, who inquired about the Brethren in Lancaster, whom he knows. He said: to the best of his knowledge there was only one Moravian in the place, namely Christoph Feldhausen, and that his reputation among the inhabitants was of the best in every respect; Thereupon, he had the house pointed out to me, and I was made very welcome and lodged with him. Because my horse was sick, he gave me

his for me to ride to Sir William Johnsen, on the 18th; his residence is some 10. miles from Canashochery, 5. miles east from Mohoks River. A short mile from his new Hall he has laid out a city, which now has become the County Town of Tyron County; there he has built a fine church, salarizes the Anglican clergyman and also a free school. I reached Johnson's Hall on the 19th and was soon admitted. I greeted him in the name of my Brethren in Bethlehem, and told him, that I was commissioned to commend to him our Missions among the Indians.[16] He inquired as to their location and number, to which I made reply, telling him: that I had accompanied the Indian congregation from the Susquehannah to the Muskingum River, and tried to excuse the Indians for having made this journey without first notifying him! He said: that the 6. Nations had concluded from this, that the Delawares and Shawanose [Shawnees] were drawing their friends together because they were planning war against them! I told him that our Indian Brethren had themselves at first suspected something of this kind, but that they had been assured of the contrary; else they would not have moved thither. He said: their settlement, Wialusing, had expressly been reserved for them in the Deed on the occasion of the Treaty, and it had not been necessary for them to leave because of the sale of the land I then informed him of the other reasons that had influenced them and said, that I hoped they would become a blessing in the region where they now were and that some of the Shawanose had desired to have a missionary. He wished the Brethren much blessing in their good and praiseworthy endeavor and gave assurance that he was a friend of our missions and promised to do what he could to see that they should not be hindered. I gave him Spberg's [Spangenberg's] *Candid Declaration* and Latrobe's *Succinct View* of the work of the Brethren among the heathen. He said, he had expressed his thanks in writing for the History of Greenland which had been sent him, which we did not receive. He invited me to stay for a meal, but I took my departure and set about my return. His son and both of his daughters with their husbands (who have fine houses and plantations on the Mohaks River) happened to be there, too, because they had

[16] The following words are crossed out: "and to find out whether he desired to say anything or recommend anything concerning our missionaries."

celebrated St. Patriks day. Colonel David Claus, a German, a native of Heilbrunn, is his son-in-law and his Deputy among the Indians in Canada.

The 20th I returned to Shenechtaty to the Feldhausen and remained on ☉ [Sunday], the 21st, with them. He and his wife and a Mrs. Anatje von Dorsch are 3. dear people, with whom one can speak whole-heartedly. The Saviour is their theme, and they sing our hymns together in the Dutch translation quite beautifully and with feeling. I felt quite at home among them and I thought: if one could find such a household every 20 or 30. miles, one would have a blessed pilgrimage. Michael Gras, a German of the Pietist or Methodist school, also visited me, and several others who occasionally visit the Feldhausens.

☽ [Monday], the 22nd. I reached Albanien again. (Schenechtaty is 16. miles from there on the s. bank of the Mohoks River which falls into the North River 10. miles above Albany. Not far from there it has a great falls, which is reckoned to be 80. feet high, so that no sea fish enter the Mohoks River. In the North River they travel as far as Kingsburry, where there is great falls. Albanien and Shenechtaty are 2. rather large towns built after the Dutch style, only not so cleanly. The former place has a large lumber trade and the latter the most considerable Indian trade. The Traders travel 1300 to 1400. miles with their wares to Detroit, Sandusky and Mishlimakinach [Mackinac Island]—only at 2. places do they have to transport them and their Battos overland, 2 miles at one, 10. miles at the other; there some discharged officers have the permit to provide wagons.)

On the 22nd and 23rd, I had to remain inactive in Albanien because of the ice, which now began to break up. Thus far I had crossed the North River and Mohoks River back and forth upon the ice; and people drove everywhere on it in their sleighs, until some broke through.

The 24th. The ice early opened up so that the ferry boat just managed to get through. When we were in the middle, things looked dangerous for us because it seemed as though the upper ice would loosen up; this threatened to crush us, but we came over safely and got as far as Claverak that day.

The 25th, I reached Henry Martin's at Rhinebek, where, in

the evening with the family, I praised in song the incarnation and death of our Creator and spoke on the watchword.[17] After I had visited old Christian Führer and Jacob Maul, I journeyed on the 26th to Oblong. In my night's lodging I had opportunity to proclaim to an Adam Schneider and his large family, that Christ paid an eternal ransom for us and for all the world.

♄ [Saturday], the 27th, I visited in passing Moses Harris, Gilbert[15] and Josua Harris, Risen's [Rice's?] and Phil. Rau's[18] families and, in the evening, reached Bro. and Sr. Azariah Schmid's[15] home.

The news of the arrival of a Brother from Bethlehem travelled very fast and there gathered

☉ [Sunday], the 28th, very many to hear and see what kind of a new preacher had come.

I preached in the morning and afternoon on the words: "Behold the man" [John 19:5] and read a part of the Passion Story.[19]

Since the Brethren requested me to remain for a week with them and I could not well continue my journey at any rate, I remained until the 4th of April and visited the members who still remain, as well as friends. All of them warmly requested, that a preacher might be sent to them again and that they might not be completely abandoned.

On Palm ☉ [Sunday], the 4th of April, I read the Passion Story and preached in the morning on the words: "Behold your king!" [John 19:14] and in the afternoon on the 7 last words of our Lord. There were so many in the audience, that the church could not hold them all.

In the evening I went as far as Nicholas Rau,[20] the brother-

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17 "Surely the Lord is in this place." Gen. 28:16.

18 A relative of John Rau's (?). See note No. 20.

19 An entry in the Sichem Church Book indicates that Ettwein baptized two children in Sichem this day: Mary Ann Conner and Hannah Smith.

20 Nicholas Rau, son of John Rau. The latter was a German colonist who came from the Palatinate, between 1710 and 1715, and acquired a farm which later adjoined the Moravian mission station at Shekomeko, now Pine Plains, N. Y. Though never uniting with the Moravians, John Rau proved a true friend of theirs in a period when their work was generally very unpopular.

in-law of Bro. Mart. Mak[21], who made me very welcome and entertained me.

☽ [Monday], the 5th, I journeyed to Pachgatgoch:[22] I found the church and all the huts quite empty. In one hut outside the place, I found Johanna, Gideon's daughter, and Josua's daughter. Josua died 2. years ago, Samuel has moved to Stokbridge, and some wish to migrate to the Ohio. Most of the time the place is quite empty.

By way of Litchfield and Farmington I came

on the 6th to Hartford, where I visited a German baker [?] John Gibel, a native of Stuttgard.

By way of Arford, Bolton, and Hebron I reached

Colchester on the 7th. There and in that district there are several zealous preachers. I heard about some instances of old men, who had at first been very much opposed to them, but who yet became converted and soon after died; but I did not know anyone in particular concerning whom I could have made inquiry. Wherever they heard that I had come from Bethl., all they inquired about was concerning the Susquehannah and Wajomik [Wyoming]. In my night's lodging, my host Gardner expressed the wish, that his father were at home; he had been

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[21] John Martin Mack, born in Leysingen, Württemberg, April 13, 1715, and died on St. Croix, June 9, 1784. He learned to know the Moravians in 1734 and came to Georgia as one of the second group of Moravian colonists. In 1739 he became a member of the Church by rite of confirmation. He came to Penn'a in 1740 and was one of the founders of Bethlehem. In 1742 he was ordained and became the assistant of Christian Henry Rauch, pioneer Moravian missionary to the Indians in New York. On September 14, 1742, he married John Rau's daughter Jeanette ("Jannicken"), Count Zinzendorf performing the ceremony. As a honeymoon, the newly wedded couple accompanied Zinzendorf on his third and most memorable journey into the Indian country of central Penn'a. In 1762 the church authorities called him to the Danish West Indies as superintendent of the work on those islands. In 1770 he received consecration as a bishop in Bethlehem, the first Moravian to be consecrated to that office in America.

[22] Pachgatgoch, now Scaticook, near Kent, Connecticut. In 1742 the Moravians began a mission station here and met with early success. But they faced increasing difficulties, and the early promise was not fulfilled. In 1770 the last missionary was withdrawn. The Memorabilia for that year, incorporated in the Bethlehem Diary, contains this comment: "Pachgatgoch, where the Indians have for many years begun to renew their liking for their former heathenish ways, and all efforts expended by the Brethren for their spiritual welfare hitherto have not attained the desired result. . ."

in Bethlehem 2 times and had praised the sermons of the Brethren very much.

On Maundy ♃ [Thursday], the 8th about midday, I came to N. London and there found the sisters Way and their brother Ebenezer, Sr. Debora Trueman and John Hertels cherishing their old affection and love for our Church and the Saviour.

In the afternoon, a Baptist meeting was held; Mr. Moss preached on Mich. 6. 9, "Hear ye the Rod and him who appointed it." I expected to hear something of Him, Who was smitten and tormented for us; but the preacher confined himself to temporal tribulations. After he was done, he said: if anyone felt the urge to pray, he should pray! I stood up and asked permission to say a few words concerning the text, and, with unusual feeling, directed them to the scourging and the chains, which Christ bore for us, because our punishment lay upon Him and He suffered what we were guilty of. All were surprised to hear a complete stranger adopt that tone, for no one knew who I was or whence I came. Mr. Moss indorsed my address with a prayer and several beautifully appropriate verses. There were 5. other Baptist preachers present, 2. of whom visited me later.

On ♀ [Friday], the 9th, I attended the Anglican Church and heard Mr. Graves preach very acceptably on the words: "It is finished" [John 19:30].

In the evening, I preached in the Court House, for which the bell was rung 2 times; it was a large auditorium in which I held forth: "that Christ died for us all, that we might not live unto ourselves, but unto Him Who died for us." [II Cor. 5:15]

♄ [Saturday], the 10th, I visited old father and mother Way, 5. miles outside the town. Sr. Debora Truemann took me also to a sick woman, who had heard the Brethren preach in Nyork and was now in trouble about her soul. At her request I prayed with her, and 3 days later she passed away, confident that her Saviour would graciously receive her. Sr. Truemann is a blessed preacher, and the Saviour has on various occasions quite manifestly blessed her testimony concerning Him.

On Easter ☉ [Sunday], the 11th, I heard Mr. Graves in the morning and afternoon with edification. In the evening, I preached again in the Court House, on the text: "Christ, our passover, is

sacrificed for us'' etc. [I Cor. 5:7] This was the largest audience of all sorts of people, that I have ever had as yet. Often during these days, I was deeply grieved to think that I had to miss the beautiful services of our Church nor could get to the Brethren and Sisters in Newport. But He let His blessing rest upon me, too, and I was consoled by having opportunity to proclaim His death to so many people.

The 12th of April, I journeyed as far as Stonington-Harbour to Mr. Nathanael Palmer, a dear old father, who has made experience of grace in his heart and who loves his Saviour; a few years ago he married Anna Way and rejoiced to see a Brother again. In the evening, about 30. neighbors, mostly New Lights, gathered in Palmer's house, to whom I delivered an address on the words: ''He was delivered for our offences and was raised again for our justification.'' [Rom. 4:25]

The 13th, I reached Narraganset ferry and

early ☿ [Wednesday], the 14th, Newport.[23] The watchword: ''When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee, etc.'' [Is. 43:2] comforted my heart while making the crossing in stormy weather, though my flesh trembled. Brother and Sister Russmeyer[24] and the other members were sincerely gladdened by my arrival and were freed from an unnecessary anxiety.

During the following days, I visited the members in their homes and held the Societäts-service[25] on the 16th.

☉ [Sunday], the 18th. In the morning, Brother Russmeyer preached, and in the afternoon I, to an audience that was not very large but attentive: concerning the consequence of faith without sight, in Him Who died and rose for us. Brother and

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[23] A congregation which was the direct result of contacts made by missionaries in transit. It was organized by Spangenberg, in 1758. But the work suffered because of frequent vacancies in the pastorate and was finally abandoned, in 1833. Some twenty years later there was much fruitless agitation for its recommencement.

[24] Albert Rudolph Russmeyer, born at Luneburg, Prussia, March 14, 1715, and died at Lititz, July 4, 1797. Son of an attorney, he studied law and theology at Griefswald. He united with the Moravians in 1748. Taught for a time in the Moravian Theological Seminary at Marienborn and later at Barby. He came to America in 1753 and served various congregations, notably Newport.

[25] A meeting for organized adherents.

Sister Russmeyer have a fine school, of some 60. children; these hear the texts each day and learn the most beautiful of our verses, which our dear Saviour often uses to touch their hearts and to prepare His praise out of their mouth.

These 2. laborers are universally beloved, support themselves by conducting school—because the little congregation is poor and small and could hardly support a couple in any other way.

♂ [Tuesday], the 20th, I returned to New London again.

The 21st. A day of humiliation and prayer was held in these parts, on which I could not travel. I visited the invalid Mr. Shaw, whose heart our Saviour drew to Himself by means of a shipwreck; ideas about predestination still befog the light of his faith. Whenever his wife (the sister of mother Way) notices this and asks him: "What shall I do, when I feel myself so poor and forsaken in heart?" he points her to the Saviour, quoting the most beautiful and comforting passages, and forgets all his own doubts in the process. When I said as I left: I hoped to see him again before the throne of the Lamb, he laughed and wept for joy, like a child. Then I also visited the poorhouse, accompanied by the sisters Way, and held an address at the bedside of a woman, who for years has been ill and who believes and loves, for some other poor women: concerning looking up in faith to Jesus on the cross.

♃ [Thursday], the 22nd, I travelled by boat from New London to Sak Harbour on the east end of Long Island, a distance of 30. miles, which we covered in 6. hours.

♄ [Saturday], the 24th, I reached old Brother Wm. Cornel and found him very weak in body but with his heart fixed upon his Saviour, and waiting for his blessed release.

☉ [Sunday], the 25th, I reached Nyork at midday and found Bro. and Sr. George Neiser well and happy. I visited,

on the 26th, many members with whom I was acquainted, and held,

on the 27th, the Societäts-service on the text of holding to the doctrine of Jesus, the treasure of the Brethren's Church.

The 28th, I reached Bro. and Sr. Gambold[26] in Staten Island, whom I also found well in body.[27]

♄ [Saturday], the 1st of May, I reached Bethl. safe and sound. In no other place have I observed such fantastic beliefs and so many unstable spirits as on this journey in New England, Newport, and Newyork. In this respect the times are quite distressing; many, many afflict themselves with the[28] doctrine of absolute reprobation, others hope for the restoration of all things, others seek rest for their soul in rebaptism, some will hear of nothing save an historical faith and say that the Scripture is the Holy Spirit. Many persuade themselves, that they have forgiveness of their sins and continue to live after the flesh and consider their soul guiltless of the evil which they commit; many rail against the majesty of God [lästern die Majestäten], and everyone[29] endeavors to start a new sect and finds a following. Only the pure milk of the Gospel is despised. Many a time I gave tearful thanks to my dear Saviour for the purity of the Gospel in our churches and prayed: "Preserve us, Lord, from false doctrine, and let us rejoice in Thy light and act and walk as children of the light, and let many another be enlightened through us."

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[26] Hector Ernest Gambold, born at Puncheston, Pembrokeshire, Wales, Sept. 4, 1719, and died in Bethlehem, Nov. 10, 1788. He united with the Moravians while at Oxford. He came to America in 1742 and served in various English-speaking congregations, chiefly that of Staten Island.

[27] The following words are crossed out: "but rather discouraged and disconcerted as to their work."

[28] The following word, "godless", is crossed out.

[29] The word "babbler" is crossed out; originally the phrase read "every babbler".

EDITORIAL NOTE.

The following journal (E.P. No. 115) describes the latter half of Ettwein's visitation of the Indian mission in 1772. Those who desire to read his account of the preceding part of this journey can find a translation of it published in vol. XXV of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.*

As noted on page 174 this was Ettwein's second stay among these Indians. He had come from Bethlehem to Wyalusing, on the Susquehanna, because the Christians living there had determined to move farther into the Indian country. Ettwein led one section of them overland to Langunto-Utenünk, or "City of Peace", a Christian Indian settlement begun by Zeisberger two years before. It lay on the Beaver River in what is now Lawrence County, Pennsylvania. The section of Ettwein's journal that is here translated takes up the story after his arrival there. It describes chiefly his visit in the district of Welhik Tuppeek, or "Beautiful Spring" (better known as Schönbrunn), on the Muskingum River.[1] Schönbrunn has been restored by the state of Ohio and lies in Tuscarawas County.

This record is of value as affording a cross-section of Ettwein's views on mission policies.

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[1] In this early period the term, Muskingum, was loosely used also to designate what is now known as the Tuscarawas River.

BROTHER ETTWEIN'S ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT IN LANGUNTO-UTENÜNK, ON THE BEAVER CR., AND WELHIK TUPPEEK, ON THE MUSKINGUM RIVER

[Translation]

The 12th of Aug., 1772. Our dear Br. Dav. Zeisberger[2] arrived in Langunto-Utenünk from Muskingham River, sick and weak in body. So we held the necessary conferences with him; and, because many of the Brethren and Sisters, who had arrived, earnestly desired to journey on to their destination, we resolved to celebrate the Holy Communion with the Indian congregation on the 15th of Aug. We would, indeed, have liked to have waited until all our travellers had gathered; but we could not delay till then, because many had gone to Pitsburg and that region in search of food. Our dear Lord very graciously made His presence felt on this day in the reunited little congregation, both during a general lovefeast service and, particularly, during the Holy Communion, in which 60. participated.

On the 14th of Aug., we first had a conference with the Helpers and, later, with all the married Brethren, concerning 1) a message to be sent to Gekelemuchpechunk,[3] or New Comers Town, as the English call it; 5. Indian Brethren were agreed upon for this purpose, and the words to be addressed to the chiefs were discussed.[4] Concerning 2) the further removal to the new settlement on the Muskingham, and the remaining of certain families

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[2] For biographical note see page 172.

[3] See note on page 175.

[4] On a separate sheet of paper, Ettwein has left us a detailed account, in English, of the points agreed upon in this conference and also a brief statement of how they were acted upon later on. Quotations from this English statement will amplify certain details in this record:

"To tell them that we have a great Stock of Cattle and that we therefore were very glad to find such a Tract of land appointed for us and such who love the Word of God. And that we hope, that the Chief will take Care, that none others may settle near us, for they commonly make no fences about their Corn and if our Cattle comes at it, they grow angry. They hold Tances and Seduce our young people. They come drunk into our Towns, all this we don't like but hate it and cannot live in such a place."

"That we will not Suffer Rum to be brought into our Towns or district, we know it is very hurtful, it makes people not only sick & poor, but is the cause of many bad things."

"J. Papunham was the principal speaker, Glikhican & Chelloway helped him here and there."

"After the Solemnity was over, a kettel of about 5 or 6. Gallon, was

in Langunto-Utenünk, where they would more easily find sustenance for themselves and their cattle during this winter, than in the new locality. Concerning 3) the retention, or rather, the introduction of surnames, or family names, because without them church registers cannot be kept plainly; moreover, in daily intercourse, too, many misunderstandings occur if one wishes to use only the baptismal name. The Brethren who have unseemly Indian names, are to adopt their baptismal name as their surname, both for their family and for their descendants. It met with general approval, for example, to say: Salomon Allomewi, Isaac Glikhikan, Jacob Gendaskund, etc.

On the 17th, in a committee appointed for the purpose, a beginning was made with the revision of verses and other matter existing in Delaware translation. Since, for some years, the dear Saviour has given us Indian Brethren who understand English well and since, also, our dear Brethren David Zeisberger, Rothe,[5] Heckewälder and Jungmann are learning the language, it is to be hoped that finally, by this arrangement, accurate and clear translations may be obtained and more of the Word of God rendered into this language. It is sad that, as yet, so little has been translated; it is quite a poverty-stricken language, and for many things, especially things spiritual, no words at all are to be

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brought by some Indians into the Council room, filld with a mixture of green Corn, beans & quashes boild to gether without fat nor Salt, only a few pieces of old dried Venison. One Spoon was presented, which went round among the royal guests the Chief made an excuse that he had not had time to provide some fresh meat—When we had dined, the Chief & his Councellors took our places, round the Kettel and did eat heartily.

When we left the Town we met several hunters with Deer they had killed for the Chief.

"John Ettwein."

"NB. Of the Chiefs present was soon converted & baptised but did not live long.

Netawatwes continued a friend of the Brethren and their Doctrine.

Welapachtshicken. al. Capt. Johny was also converted & baptised, Israel.

Killbucks Son.

The converted Chiefs, confess'd that their Council had secretly agreed, to call the baptised Indians in a friendly manner from Susquehannah to Muskingum and to let them also bring their ministers with them. but when they were settled, they would send all the white men away, from Muskingum." E.P. No. 1633.

[5] John Roth(e), born at Sarmund, Prussia, Feb. 3, 1726, died at York, Pa., July 22, 1791. He came to America in 1756 and served as a missionary from 1759-1774.

found. And the missionaries have been too hesitant in introducing words from other languages and making them intelligible by means of explanations. The Delawares have, for instance, no word for *"man"*, but say either "Indian" *or* "white man."

"Holy" they cannot express in any other way than "quite clean", "without sin." Through misapprehension, they took the word *"holy"*, when translating it, to mean: "wholly, entirely", or "whole, entire, unbroken," and used it so. It has become an urgent matter of prayer with me, that the Holy Spirit should give our Brethren greater aid in grasping and learning the language, so that the Word of God may be rendered purely and without adulteration into the Indian language and may not, without our intention, give rise to all kinds of erroneous beliefs. The Lord's prayer, which Br. Rothe translated and which was thoroughly revised by Br. David Zeisberger and the above-mentioned committee: Anton, Johannes, Nathanael, Wilhelm, Samuel, Abraham (Josua and Joseph Pepi being absent), is now to be used in the public services and also to be memorized by the children in school. There is a great lack of public and of family prayer; the prayers and sighs of the heart are known to God alone. On occasion of our gathering, a name was also agreed upon for the new settlement, namely Welhik-Tuppeek (German, Schönbrunn) [English, Beautiful Spring], which name we submitted to * [the lot], together with Gosen, Bethel, Enon, and a blank slip.

Johannes Papunham and Nathanael Davis were appointed lay heads of the congregation [Gemein-Diener] in Welhik-Tuppeek for the time being and Anton and Abraham in Langunto-Utenünk; a committee and a helpers' conference were agreed upon for each place, and the Indian congregation was instructed concerning its own duties.

The 19th of Aug., I, with Br. David Z. and John Heckewälder, left for the Muskingham, in company with the Brethren Shebosh,[6] Johannes, Nathanael, Wilhelm, Samuel and Anton, of Tshesheq[7], and their families. We spent 4. nights en route and

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[6] For biographical note see page 366.

[7] Schechschiquanunk, an Indian town on the Susquehanna, 30 miles above Wyalusing, in Bradford County, Pa.

reached Welhik-Tuppeek only on ⊙ [Sunday], the 23rd. It has a very beautiful location in a plain, some 10. miles in length and several miles in breadth, near one very large spring and several other fine small ones. They, together, give rise to a creek, on which one can paddle during most of the year right up to the settlement, in canoes. Between the settlement itself and the Muskingham river is a stretch of very rich bottom land, more than half a mile wide and probably 5. miles long, suitable for Indian corn; it is covered almost entirely by walnut and locust trees. We had left it to the Indian Brethren to choose a suitable and good place; therefore on the 24th of Aug. we inspected a number of sites up river which had been proposed for this purpose. But none of them met the approval of the Brethren, and they elected to remain in Schönbrunn. Therefore the new town was laid out again: 40. lots, each 3. rods wide and 6. rods long, being staked off in the form of a "T", in such a way that the meeting house is to stand about in the center, with the house of the ministers next to it.

On the 26th of Aug., I alone left for Gekelemuchpechünk, or New Comers Town, (because Dr. David Z. had become ill again), in company with the Indian Brethren Johannes, Nathanael, Wilhelm, Samuel, and Isaac. Very soon we crossed the river, which is still about half as wide as the Lehigh and has a pretty even depth all over, namely about 2½ feet. We travelled through nothing but the richest bottom land down stream on the west side of the river, until we came close to an old town, where King Beaver resided, toward the end. We inspected it; it lies on the east side of the river, the plantations being on the west side. 4. miles from New Comers Town, we hear that they had received 70. gall. of rum at that place and had already spent 4. days drinking it. We, therefore, sent Isaac Glikhican ahead to reconnoiter; and he returned during the night with the message, that Chief Netawatwes,[8] when he heard of our coming, had at once decided to discontinue the boozing; and the chief had said, we were to come right on to him, we would find them all sober next morning!

On the 27th, therefore, we finished our journey, going straight to the chief. He has a well built house of nicely squared logs,

[8] See note on page 179.

with a shingle roof. He has received us with great friendliness; and I had to sit down next to him on the floor and the rest in a circle around us. He asked the Brethren several questions and then sent for the other chiefs, who arrived in a couple of hours; but only 3. came: Neskalichen, Killbuk and Welapachtschichen (White Eye was in Pitsburg and Echpalewechund in Langunto-Utenünk.) Johannes Papunham[9] was the speaker. With one string of wampum, he wiped their eyes and cleaned their ears, so that they might see and hear us well. With the 2nd, he greeted Chief Netawatwes on behalf of all who had come. With the 3rd, he told him, that they had received his messages, and, in accordance with them, all from Wialusing and Tsheshequannünk had come with their teachers. He expressed thanks with a belt in the name of all, for the piece of land which they had set aside for the believers; and he said, that they had made a beginning with building in Welhik-Tuppeek and would, in time, perhaps still build 1 or 2. other places on the land; that they depended upon it that no other Indians should receive permission to settle within the borders of their district, since it was their custom [*i. e.* of the heathen] not to make fences and it would be too bad if others were to harm their cattle, and they had much cattle; that such people loved rum and would, therefore, come into their settlements when intoxicated, to the hurt of their children, which thing they hated. Thereupon, he said: "Our Brethren have told you already how we are accustomed to live, but we wanted to say this to you again ourselves. We believe in the true and only God and hear His Word gladly; we hear it gladly every day, and therefore we have our teachers to live with us. We love peace with everyone and never want to get involved in any war. Because we know the harm that rum works, therefore we will not tolerate any to be brought upon our land or into our settlements. We do not have any special chiefs in our town, but we are all Brethren. When you wish to send words to us, send them to the Brethren in Welhik-Tuppeek; and call us the Brethren. When you hear anything evil of us, do not believe such lies, but ask us, and we

[9] John Papunham (Papunhank), an Indian from Wyalusing, well known in colonial annals. He had been a "preacher" among his people before his conversion.

will tell you the truth. Whenever the chiefs have some good undertaking in hand, we will gladly help with it and contribute to it, as others do. Never be concerned about the white Brethren among us; there never will be many among us, and you shall receive word concerning those who do live among us, and be informed why they are with us."

The chief then gave his answer to Killbuk, and he announced it in an impressive tone. It ran thus: "We rejoice greatly to see you and hear your good words. It makes us all rejoice, old and young alike, to see a matter realized which we have desired so long! It will be very fine along the river, should you build a number of towns. At first we planned for you to have land to within 4. miles of this place; but because we heard, that you do not like to live so near to savages, we have placed your boundary further up along the Gekelemuchpechünk creek. However, you may also have the place where King Beaver lived; for this reason we caused the people to move away from there already last spring! When all our people shall be sobered up and the other chiefs shall have returned home, then we will place your words before the whole nation and will thereupon give you a more complete answer, which Killbuk shall bring to Welhik-Tuppeek." All was confirmed by those present with a loud "Kehelle." They asked, if I were one of their teachers. And when they heard that I had merely accompanied them on their journey and would go back, they expressed their joy and gratitude for this; and Killbuk wished that he might be able to bring their words to Welhik-Tuppeek, before I should leave again for Bethlehem! From their private conversation which followed, I gathered that they would ask the Brethren for a teacher too. We received the best that the (royal) kitchen could provide for dinner: beans, that had not been picked over, squashes, with some dried venison, all cooked together without a speck of salt or grease or bread.

Johannes and Wilhelm then spent a long time alone with the two oldest chiefs; and the former was quite inspired with preaching. I asked Wilhelm what Johannes had been so ardent about; and he said, he had related his life and preaching as a heathen to the chiefs, and had told them what he now believes and had ex-

perienced as truth. Welapachtschichen, the chief of Assinink on the Hochhoking river, took his friend Isaac aside privately and told him, he, too, sought to please God and therefore prayed and sacrificed according to the best of his understanding; that he had gone to Langunto-Utenünk for that purpose, hoping to hear some good thing from him, but, because he had not met him, he had not tarried there. Isaac then told him of the true God and of the right service of God. We were told, that this chief had come from Assinink expressly for the purpose of asking Netawatwes, whether he intended to accept the Christian religion. If he would accept it, he, too, would accept it with his town!

New Comers Town lies on the west side of the Muskingham river. I counted between 40 and 50. houses, very irregularly built. Some miles upstream and some miles down, stand many more houses and huts, which are reckoned as belonging to the town. It is a fine region, but they have no water other than that of the river. Toward evening, we returned to our camp of the night before, where Br. Johannes unexpectedly had found his father's sister; the old folks heard more about God and His Word on these two evenings than they probably had heard in their life before. Isaac entertained the Brethren with an account of his former ideas, when he had prayed to the Wiperwill and to the serpents, and with the tomfoolery of heathen preachers, causing the Brethren much laughter. In token of the great change which had taken place in Chief Netawatwes, he recounted how just a year ago, this same chief had plagued him much because of his faith and had asked him, how many 6. pence he had given already, in order that one should pray for him. (He had ideas about Catholics.) Isaac replied: "I have never yet paid anything for prayer! But even were it so, why should it seem so strange? I and my friends have paid plenty to the sorcerers for good fortune and protection, when I went on the warpath." The chief said: "You have to pull the cart obediently, don't you?" Reply: "I am building a house and draw up the logs for it!" And so the chief did not know what more he could say. This Isaac Glickhican is a very good-humored man and a great orator, was a courageous captain in war, and now likes to preach very much (better than to work.) Some years before

his conversion, he had a dream. In it he came to a place, where he saw many Indians in a hall, who had no scalp locks nor nose rings; and a little white man in their midst. They beckoned him to enter; and when he had entered, the white man gave him a book and said: "Read!" He answered: "I cannot read!" The white man said: "When you have spent some time with us, you will learn it all right!" From that day on he told the Indians, that he knew there were people who knew the right way to eternal happiness; he had seen them in a dream, and if he should learn more about this, he would let them know, too! Then, when he was sent with a message to Goshgoshing[10] and came, on that occasion, to Lawunachannek, there he found the Indians and the little white man, Brother David Zeisberger, as he had seen them in his dream; and believed and was baptized.

The 29th of Aug. Certain general rules were agreed upon, which all must promise to observe, who desire to live in Schönbrunn or any other Moravian Indian settlement. Also, we were gladdened by receiving letters from the congregation [*i. e.* Bethlehem]; and the 2. Single Brethren, to their great joy, received the printed festival ode.[11] We met with the Brethren and stayed until near midnight, discussing all manner of words and expressions. The Indian Brethren and Sisters like to hear something out of the Bible; and it was resolved to hold Bible study every Sunday afternoon and sometimes of an evening, during the winter.

⊙ [Sunday], the 30th. Nathanael's son, from New Comers Town, a fine fellow, came thence to attend the preaching service.[12]

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[10] Goshgoshing (Goschgoschünk), an Indian village on the Alleghany near the mouth of Tionesta Creek, Venango Co., Pa. Zeisberger came there in 1767 and in 1769 founded the Christian village of Lawunachannek (Lawunakannek), three miles above it.

[11] The program of a service of song.

[12] In a letter addressed to Quaker friends in Philadelphia (Messrs. James and Drinker) Ettwein reported, probably in the year 1773, that when the first of the Delaware Chiefs made a resolution to join the Christian Indians publicly, there was a great stir in Gekelemuchpechünk. At the outset, the council of heathen Indians proposed sending the white missionaries out of the country, bag and baggage. But they feared to do so, since the Christians were already quite numerous. So the heathen resolved to reform their ways and to show that they could live in as orderly a manner without any preachers as could the believing Indians. They solemnly decided to banish all traders who had

Isaac showed us on the map where the known Indian nations live. He is acquainted far and wide and told us, that Chief Netawatwes had received a map from the Delamattinos, or Wiondots, which they had made, showing the location of 70. towns and as many different dialects of Indians, who are all friendly, that is, live in peace with each other. The Wiondots, or Delamattinos, have given to the Delawares, the land between Beaver creek, the Cajahaga river, Lake Erie, the Sandusky river, thence to the headwaters of the Hockhoking river and then up the Ohio to Shingas Town. And Schönbrunn lies in the middle thereof, 22. miles above New-Comers Town and 16. miles below Tuscerawas, some 50. miles from Lake Erie. The main chief of the Wiondots lives on the Sandusky with a part of the nation; the other part lives with a chief in the region of Detroit. The Wiondots and Shawanosen are pretty nearly of equal strength, but not as numerous as the Delawares. The Shawanose have 4. towns on the headwaters of the Sioto river, about 100. miles from Schönbrunn: Pichuway, Kischkubi, Michenschay, and Chelokraty. In this last place lives Wm. Henry's[13] brother, a gunsmith, with his wife who had been captured by the Shawanose as a child and reared among them. The Chipoways and Tawas together form a strong nation, about as distinct as the Munzys and Unamis Delawares. They live beyond the lakes, as do the Wawijachtanos who are said to be the strongest among the known nations. The Unamiwoas, along the Miamis river, are also said to be pretty strong, and the Okachbaks as well. The Kikabus are not strong, but very savage and no friends of the English. The Unamiwoas and Twichtwis have something of the Schwanosen language and the Wiondots of the Maqua; many of the last named have been baptized by the French.

I and my dear Brother David Zeisberger rejoiced with grateful tears over the dear Saviour's marvellous and gracious deal-

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taught them to use cards and dice. They appointed six husky braves to be their "executioners", and charged them to keep all liquor out of the town. These men must have surprised the rest with their zeal and their fearlessness, for they promptly destroyed ten kegs of rum.—One success the heathen did score. They persuaded a party of Shawnees, who had been sent to the Muskingum with the intention of inviting the white teachers to visit them, too, not to do so. E.P. No. 816.

[13] See note on page 244.

ing with the Indian congregation, which He now has placed as His candlestick in the midst of the Delawares and in the neighborhood of the Shawanosen and Wiondots. For the congregations have this advantage: wherever they appear, there something substantial results. And, because Brother David wanted to know upon which of the neighboring nations the Brethren should now mainly direct their attention, the Saviour pointed[14] to the Shawanosen, Br. David, with Isaac and one other Brother, will visit them as soon as time and circumstances permit, in order to make their acquaintance. In one of their towns it is a common custom to seek to get rid of sin by means of vomiting; and, after all, this is evidence of some seeking and desire. There is a Sister now in Langunto-Utenünk, who for three years took an emetic each morning in order to get rid of sin; and, because she cherished the fantastic idea that her sin was mounting to her neck, she would have made a complete end of herself, if she had not heard the gospel.

On the 2nd of Septr., I held the evening service in Schönbrunn on the text: "We entreat also that ye receive not the grace of God in vain." [II Cor. 6:1] In a parting message, I commended their ministers to the love, support, and care of the Indian Brethren and Sisters, under all circumstances.

♃ [Thursday], the 3rd, furnished with the doctrinal text: "Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong," [I Cor. 16:13] I bade my dear Brethren David Zeisberger, John Heckewaelder and the Indian Brethren and Sisters a heartfelt and tearful farewell, commended to my dear Lord His work which has been begun here, and journeyed with the Brethren Shebosch and Wilhelm by way of Tuscerawas back to Langunto-Utenünk. Both this route and the one we followed on the journey out, lead through none but good, fertile land; and the further one goes toward the west, the better the land becomes. From Langunto-Utenünk to Schönbrunn is 80. miles and more.

♄ [Saturday], the 5th, we arrived again at our dear Brethren and Sisters Jungmanns and Rothes. There I found a letter addressed to me from a David Maccluer in which he reports to me

[14] By means of the lot.

that he and his companion, Mr. Friesbie, were journeying as missionaries to preach the gospel of our Redeemer to the poor Indians in New Comers Town on the Muskingum; and that Joseph Pepi had promised them to accompany them as interpreter for several weeks, if the Brethren had no objection to this; and, in conclusion, wishes us much blessing from the Head of the Church for our work among the Indians. I wrote him in my reply, that the Indians in New Comers Town desired a witness who belonged to their own nation; and that a Christian congregation had settled within 22. miles of them, which, by the grace of God, should become a light to them; that they should comfort the good people who were concerned about the salvation of the heathen and had sent them out, with this news, even should they not receive the answer they expected in reply to their offer; and, should they like to have a share in the conversion of the Delawares and would make a contribution to that end, their mite would be acceptable to the missionaries now laboring among them. Mr. Maccluer came, on the 7th, to visit us in Languntо-Utenünk, and attended an evening and a morning devotion, which were held in the Indian tongue. He lodged with us and could not praise highly enough the reverence shown by old and young, and the beautiful singing. He said, they had not known anything of this mission. They had read the history of Greenland[15] in the home of Doctor Wilok in New England, with whom they had lived several years and who had secured them as missionaries among the Indians, the Scottish Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel bearing the costs. Mr. Frisbie remained in Pitsburg because of illness; but Maccluer journeyed with Brother Joseph Pepi to New Comers Town and, no doubt, also visited Welhik Tuppeek, and is thus become a witness to that which the Saviour is doing among the Delawares. Neither the Indians nor existing circumstances will incite him to stay there. This is the 3rd offer made to the Indians of New Comers Town by preachers this summer. They paid no attention to the first 2; how they will take this one, we have yet to hear. The Indians have told us, that King Beaver called his chiefs to him, on his death bed, and said to them: "I know you are seeking something, the one in this direction, the other in that. I will now soon be

[15] David Cranz: *The History of Greenland*, London, 1767.

dead, and therefore I want still to admonish you. Let not one of you turn to the English Church, the other to the Presbyterians, and the 3rd to the Quakers; but all turn to the same way, to those to whom so many of our nation already belong; otherwise strife and division will come among you, and that is not good.''

On the occasion of the Married People's festival, I held an address for the Married People on the texts of these days and gave a hearty admonition particularly to the women, to be subject, and to be cleanly as to their clothing and as to their housekeeping, in which matters I found them lacking considerably.

Because we had found it necessary, after considering all the circumstances, for Brother and Sister Jungmann to join Bro. David in Schönbrunn while Brother and Sister Rothe, on the other hand, would remain in Langunto-Utenünk, it was agreed that Brother and Sister Jungmann should move to their new post before the end of September, thoroughly introducing Brother and Sister Rothe to their work before then. The Brethren and Sisters had proposed leaving Langunto-Utenünk entirely, by next spring, but it did not meet with the Saviour's approval[16] that we should take this step then; therefore plantations are to be made again next year, and we will then see further, what is to be. Apparently, conditions in this neighborhood, also, are improving, and the Saviour has gotten rid of some great enemies of the gospel; and we may say that the Church there, too, enjoys tranquility.

Josua, the elder, had also arrived in Langunto-Utenünk with the Mahikanders and some Delawares who had always kept together, aloof from the others, ever since they were on the great island.[17] We spoke at length, first with Josua alone, and, afterward, with the whole company, concerning the ideas which they had expressed from time to time and concerning a new settlement. We assured them of our satisfaction with and approval of their expressed purpose to start a separate place for themselves. And it was decided, in accordance with our agreement with Br. David, that they should select a suitable place for

[16] That is, the lot negatived the proposal.

[17] Lock Haven, in Clinton Co., Pa., where the Christian Indians had rested on their migration from Wyalusing.

themselves several miles above or below Schönbrunn, and there, with the approval of Br. David Zeisberger and Br. Jungmann, their ministers, build their houses together. These [Brethren] would visit them in turn from Schönbrunn and conduct services for them, until such time as they could have their own ministers. Josua and John Martin are to be lay heads of the congregation [Gemein-Diener] in that place for the time being; and, if they approve themselves, they shall be authorized to hold a meeting or a service of song from time to time during the week. They are to belong to the Helpers' conference of Schoenbrunn, to which report is to be made of all that concerns their place. They are to go to Schoenbrunn for the Communion. They requested earnestly that ministers of their own be given them at once; but I could not leave Br. David and Heckewaelder alone in Schoenbrunn, nor expect them to live with the Mahikanders. If Brother David does not live with a married couple who can care for him for a time again, he will not be able to hold out long. There are 16. families who will build together at the present time, most of them former inhabitants of Gnadenhütten.[18] They proposed to name their settlement Gnadenhütten or Nain, and *Gnadenhütten* received the Saviour's approval.[14] The Quakers of Philadelphia have written a nice letter to Johannes Papunham and to the Indians who went with him, enclosing a present of 100. Spanish dollars. I communicated the contents of the letter to them in Langunto-Utenünk and then forwarded it to Br. David, so that he might read it in Schoenbrunn. The Brethren resolved to use all the money to buy Indian corn at the proper time and to divide it. The provision of our heavenly Father for the little body of Indians, who neither sowed nor reaped, has indeed been gloriously manifested. The Brethren and Sisters in both places have planted at least 10 acres of Indian corn in common for their own use; and had they not been driven to use much of it before it was ripe, they would have gotten 400 to 500. bushels of corn from it, not counting beans and pumpkins. Some received large tracts of Indian corn from friends of theirs living in the neighborhood. There is, in general, a fine stand of Indian corn; and it appears that towards Christmas the price will fall to 3 or 4

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[18] On the Mahony.

shillings a bushel; in August some was sold for 20 shillings. Our white Brethren also have been very industrious. In Langunto-Utenünk, despite the fact that Br. Jungmann likes to give away a lot, they should still have perhaps 80. bushels of corn and many potatoes, cabbages, and carrots. David, [Zeisberger] too, will harvest not much less from his farm; he also planted a nice piece with turnips, and they looked very promising. On the 8th of Septr., I conducted the evening service, speaking on the watchword: "And thou shalt not defile the land which ye inhabit, etc." [Numbers 35:34]. I spoke out all that was in my heart and whatever I considered necessary to remind them of, begging them to obey their teachers, to hold them in honor, and to assist them in all things, so that they should not find it too hard among them. According to God's Word, it should be their duty to supply their whole support for them; but, because the other congregations knew that they themselves were very poor, they provided for the white Brethren among them. And, up to the present, the Brethren had themselves planted most of their food; but that could not always be the case, nor could all do this; therefore they should do whatever lay in their power to help their teachers and save the other congregations from heavy expenditures.

The 9th of Septr. I blessed them in the early service with the watchword: "And the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall guard your hearts and your thoughts in Christ Jesus. [Phil. 4:7] Grant us Thy peace, O Jesu!" and, after a tender farewell to young and old, left for Pitsburg in company of Br. Jungmann, Shebosch, Wilhelm, and Samuel Nantikoc. Langunto-Utenünk lies on the west side of Beaver Creek. They have built their houses quite regularly and well, along one street. In the center of the one row of houses stands the church, of squared logs, and several feet larger than the one in Friedenshütten,[19] having a little tower in which hangs a bell. The place has a fine, healthy location; but, because their corn fields and meadows lie on the other side of the creek and they thus must fetch all in canoes and carry it up a steep bank to their houses, they are scarcely content to live there. They have con-

[19] Or Wyalusing. See page 174.

templated moving to the east side, over against the mountain, where an old breastwork is still to be seen and where, before the war, a Wiondot town stood; but I counselled them against giving themselves so much work there! That day we came to within 2. miles of Logs Town and camped along the Ohio in a heavy thunder storm. On the 10th, we journeyed some 20. miles more up the Ohio, through good land, till we came over against the Fort, where we ferried across in a large boat, our horses swimming over; and so we reached Pitsburg in safety. The Fort lies right on the point of land, where the Ohio and the Monongahela come together, both of which appear to be of the same size. The Fort is separated from the town by means of a ditch and a brick wall on the embankment, and is not very strong (it is to be demolished and the soldiers are to be removed.) The town contains hardly 20. houses, built of lumber, all traders and innkeepers, a godless nest. Across from it, on the other side of the Monongahela, the mountain has been burning for many years in the coal mine. Here we bought salt and other necessaries for the mission; but everything is very dear, a bushel of salt 30. shill. and a hundred-weight of flour 2£. On the 11th, I and Br. Jungmann visited Col. Croghan[20] on his plantation, 5. miles from Pitsburg. He has proven himself to be a true friend of our mission and of the Indian Brethren; he told the New England missionaries, that they would accomplish nothing, because the Brethren had come first and the heart of the whole Delaware nation was inclined toward them. On the 12th, I bade farewell to my dear companions who had come thus far to fetch seed-wheat and flour, and travelled as far as Turtle creek, to Mr. Weinmiller; where, on Sunday, the 13th, I preached in German and English. But, since another service was held not many miles away, the attendance was poor. Thereupon I visited the settlement at Swiklys Cr. and particularly some Germans, who had migrated thither from the Fork of the Delaware.[21] Between the creek and Youghjugene live probably 50. German families, and many people are migrating to that region. I intended to visit Redstone settlement also, but heard that it lay far out of my path; so I re-

[20] Deputy of Sir William Johnson, Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs.

[21] The district of Bethlehem, Pa.

mained on the road. At Laurel Hill I overtook 2. Irish travellers with whom I kept company until Canesetschik. Along Swiklys creek, Turtle creek, and the Monongahela and their tributaries, is a lot of very good, deep land; but it is very mountainous. Some Germans urged me much that we should buy a piece of land along the Monongahela near Pitsburg, and Mr. Weinmiller promised to give me 5£ in cash and 3. thousand feet of boards for that purpose. From Ligonier, or Loyal Hanning Cr., by way of Laurel-Hill, Allegheny mountain etc., by way of Bedford to the Great Cove, there is only very poor land and the worst road I have ever seen in my life. By way of Yorktown, Lancaster, and Litiz, I reached Bethlehem again, safe and sound, on the 25th of Septr. "Oh, that every pulse beat were thanksgiving and every breath a song of praise", for the grace, mercy, and faithfulness, which the dear Saviour manifested to me on this journey in such manifold ways. His dealing with the Indian congregation is wonderful and glorious; it is His doing alone, that the candlestick now stands where it stands, and He shall further what He has done.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

The following document (E.P. No. 101) is one of a number of outlines sketching the history of the Indian mission, which Ettwein has left. There are no certain means of telling what occasioned its composition. However, since similar accounts bear notations showing that they were presented to Congress when Ettwein appealed for the land formerly possessed by the Christian Indians in Ohio, it seems likely that he may have used this document for the same purpose.

SHORT HISTORY OF THE INDIAN MISSION BY ETTWEIN

Since the year 1740 the United Brethren have uninterruptedly maintained some missionaries among the Indians in the now United States. A Mission among the Creeks in Georgia, began 1736. being interrupted by the Spanish War—a new beginning was made 1740—among the Mahikans & Wampanos, in the State of Nyork & Connecticut, where a number of heathen were converted & brought into a regular order of Christian Congregations at Checmeka & Seaticok or Packgatgoch on Kent R. These little flocks with their missionaries were soon persecuted and the missionaries imprison'd and when they were sent away and forbid to preach to the Indians, the Converts by degrees left their Settlements and followed the missionaries to Bethlehem in Pensilvania. To bring them into some domestic order, the U. B'rn bought several Tracts of Land, behind the blue mountain and sent some B'rn with the Indians to instruct them in temporal & Spiritual Things. by them the Delawares & Munseys living in Pensilvania and the Jersey, were drawn to hear the Word of God and some joined the small Indian Congregation. So that in the year 1748 many were baptised & the B'rn had a fine nummerous Congregation of Chr. Indians, Mahikans Wampanos & Delawares, and the mission flourished untill 1755. when the Missions Settlement & Indian Town on Mahony Cr. was burn'd & destroyed by the Allegheny Indians. They lived then some years near Bethlehem & some behind the blue mountain till 1764. When by an unhappy accident,[1] the whole neighborhood was raised against them and the Government necessitated to take them to Phil. to be protected there, when the socalled Paxton boys, wanted to kill them all, as they had killed the Canastoga Indians in Lancaster. They moved them to Wialusing on Susq. when the land where they lived was sold. The Indian Chiefs north of the Ohio sent them several messages to come to them, to bring their Teachers with them, as they wanted to hear too (in their council they have agreed to speak friendly to the Chr. Indians, that they might come to them and when they were come

[1] The Moravian Indians were accused of participating in outrages committed by savages during the Pontiac War.

to send the missionaries out of their Country) in 1771. The whole Indian Congregation left Susq. & settled on Beaver Cr. & Muskingum R. The Delawares & Munseys in Council gave them the Land from Tuskerawi till within 3. miles of Gekelem— or New Comerstown. Here they settled 3. Towns Sch.[2] Gn.[3] Salem.[4] Lichtenau.[5] In the beginning of the revolution some attempts were made to draw them into the War, but in vain. When the British Indians in their War path came to the Christian Towns they were often prevailed upon, to return home, without doing mischief, or the settlers on Ohio warned of there being visited by Warriors. The Indians & British Government, were displeased with them & removed them forcibly from Musk. to Sandusky where they soon found themselves in a starving condition. Venturing to return to gather some of their corn they were surprised & 90. odd murtherd by a lawless militia. The missionaries were ordered to Detroit whither some of the Chr. Indians did soon follow them, they lived 4 years about 30. m. above Detroit. In the year 1783 Agents of the B'rns Mission informed Congress of what had been done to the Chr. Indians & Congress reserved for them their 3. Towns when they were hindered from repossessing them, by their persecutors who still had hopes to get their Settlements by way of Conquest, Congress resolved to Vest the Land in the Society—

They lived one year on Cajahaga & 4. on Petquotting.

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[2] Schönbrunn, begun in 1772.

[3] Gnadenhütten, begun in 1772.

[4] Salem was the fourth Christian town begun in the Tuscarawas district; Heckewelder founded it in 1780.

[5] Begun in 1776.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

The following account (E.P. No. 103) of the massacre of the Moravian Indians at Gnadenhütten, Ohio, on March 8, 1782, was written by Ettwein in 1783. Presumably, it is the manuscript to which he refers as follows, in a letter to Henry Laurens (E.P. No. 991):

I send you agreeable to my Promise a Copy of that mournful Account of the Sufferings of the Christian Indians on Muskingum River, where between 3 & 400. were settled in 3. regular Towns, lived comfortable, had a good Stock of all Sorts of Cattle & plenty of Corn and the Word of God dwelt richly among them. The old Enemy Satan left nothing undone to destroy these burning & Shining Lights in the Indian Country, for they began to have too much Effect amongst his Subjects. how far he did carry his Point, you see in this piece of unparaleld History, which is meer Truth, not one of these Suffering Indians has lifted up a Hatchet against the Inhabitants of the U. St. nor any of the Brittish Party. I knew most of these murdred personally to be true Christians . . .

ETTWEIN'S ACCOUNT OF THE MASSACRE AT GNADENHÜTTEN, OHIO.

Sir:

I read some Time ago, in one of the News-Papers, a Letter said from a Gentleman from Washington-County on the Ohio, which touch'd me very sensibly, because it semed to be intended to stigmatise the Mission of the Brethrens-Church amongst the Indians. I have ever since been concern'd to get a true Information of the Masacre on Muskingum March 8th last and the following, you may depend on it, is a true Account.

Above 300. Souls of Mahikan, Delawar & Munzy Indians, converted to Christianity, lived in 3. Separate Towns on Muskingum River under the Inspection and Direction of Some Missionariis, happy among themselves & edifying to other Indians.

When the present War began, they found themselves between two Fires & in a great Pinch. By their learned Christian Principles they tryed to keep Peace with all Men And as Friend and Relations of the Delawares being often consulted by the Chiefs, they kept them for some years in a perfect Neutrality, untill by the Influence of some crafty Men, from both Parties, the Council at Goshachgünk got quite divided some turning to One others to the other Party, some few wanted to continue neuter, as their Neighbours the Christian Indians.

The Half-King a Wiondot Chief at Sandusky on his Excursions or Inroads with his Warriors did often visit the Towns of the Christian Indians, as they lay in his Way and finding Plenty of Provision they tarried commonly some Days which gave those Indians who favour'd the Settlers on Ohio River an Opportunity to apprise them of the Approach of Danger. The Warriors themselves got relaxed in their Zeal and one certain Isaac (Glikhican) formerly a great Warrior and Orator, but the last 12. Years a Zealous Promoter of Christianity, who could talk with them, persuaded them several Times to return without Striking a Blow. The Delawar Chiefs now & then importuned some of the Missionariis to write their Words or Messages to Fort Pit.—All this together, was the Cause, that the so call'd Moravian Indians, with their Missionaris, came under the Displeasure of the Offi-

cers at Detroit, all Miscarriages & Small Effects of their Indian Warriors were laid to their Charge and in August last, all the Indians from these three Towns, by an Ordre from Detroit, were forcibly removed to a Branch of Sandusky River, by a number of Wiondot & Shawano Warriors. They were now in a Place 100. miles from their Towns and Cornfields, the Indians on Sandusky had nothing to spare for them. Some few, driven by Hunger, did soon venture to return to their Town to get some Provision for themselves and others; some Militia men from Washington County found them there treated them kindly & being assured that they were no Enemies to this State gave them Permission to return to Sandusky. Whereupon these Christian Indians not fearing any Danger from the Ohio Settlers begg'd the Wiondot Chief for Leave, to return to their Towns, to get some Subsistance for themselves & their Horses & to fetch their Kettels & other Things, they had buried before their Removal. They obtained Permission for a certain Time, but none of the Missionaries or White Men got Leave to attend them. They were now sojourning in their Old Towns, gathering some Spoild Corn therewith to keep themselves from starving & not for Warriors, as it was the Season for boiling Sugar & their Kettels at Hand, they busied themselves also that Way under the Inspection of 6. Helpers as they are call'd by the Missionaries or Select Men of the Towns. In this Situation they were Surprised by about 160. Men and all inhumanly murder'd. I have got the Names of about 90. which have been at Gnadenhütten & Salem. A Boy being scalp'd & seemingly dead, found means to escape in the Night and saved the Lives of about 30. who were in the Uppermost Town.

I knew the Men personally and am sure that none of them has been in War these last 12. Years. It is unjust & unreasonable to call all Indians, who can speak German or English Moravian Indians. If any baptised Indian follows the Devil & goes with the Warriors, the Indian-Congregation treats him as a Heathen & has no Fellowship with him. Some may learn German or English in their Infancy & turn out wicked Men.

Amongst the Slain are 16. whole married Couples & 42 Children. I hope that some of the Perpetrators to expiate their

Crime will give Glory to God & deposit before some Magistrates the particular Circumstances & the Cruelties committed, which will set their Expedition in quite another Light as it has been represented by Some.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

The following communication (E.P. No. 965) was a message sent by Ettwein to the Christian Indians in March, 1778. It was a time of crisis. Great pressure had been brought upon the Delawares from Detroit to enter the Revolutionary War on the British side. Relations between heathen and Christian Indians were strained to the breaking point. Only Zeisberger and Edwards remained at their posts, and their lives were in danger. Though communications were poor, the board at Bethlehem knew enough of the state of affairs in Ohio to be anxious about it. Heckewelder and Schebosh were sent to Pittsburgh to get information, with instructions to push on to the Muskingum, if possible. They bore this letter. By its means they kept the Christian Indians faithful to their policy of peace, and by the news of American victories they persuaded even the heathen Delawares not to intervene in the struggle at this time.

The manuscript is written in two parallel columns, the English by Ettwein on the left, an Indian translation in Heckwelder's hand (?) on the right.

LETTER TO CHRISTIAN INDIANS

Dear Brethren and Sisters at Gnadenhütten at Lichenau.

The B'rn & S'rs at Beth'm salute you all with much love. Br. John[1] & Br. Shebosch[2] can tell you how we do. We have been grieved that Br. & Sr. Schmick[3] could not stay with you and that you were frightened & fled for some Days.

But Br. Edwards[3] Letter made us quite glad; we rejoice to see you again in your Houses quiet and in Peace.

Don't wonder Dr. Br'n, Sis'rs at the many Troubles which you have in this world.

Nihillalquenk (our Lord) ktelguneen (said) in the World you have Trouble but be of good Chear I have overcome the World. If we had too many good Days, we could perhaps like this World & forget that we are but Travellers in it. Our Sufferings are short, our Joy shall last for ever, nothing can hurt us here, if we have Peace with God and keep close to our Saviour.

Nachgotammen neen, (we hope) you know Him faithful, & that you will be also faithful to him.

All those who forsake him, will be put to shame, they were foolish and built upon sand.

Schuk nachgotammeneen (but we hope) you are wise and seek to be well grounded upon the Rock J. Christ.

All our B'rn and Sisters on this & the other side of the Great Sea, pray for you to God; that you may daily grow in his Knowledge & Love and that you may abide with him & his People unto the End.

And that all, or many as you are, might be Examples to others and Witnesses. That faith in God our Sav'r Jesus Christ, makes good Men, who love Peace with all Men, sober, honest, friendly, mercyful patient and diligent to all good Works.

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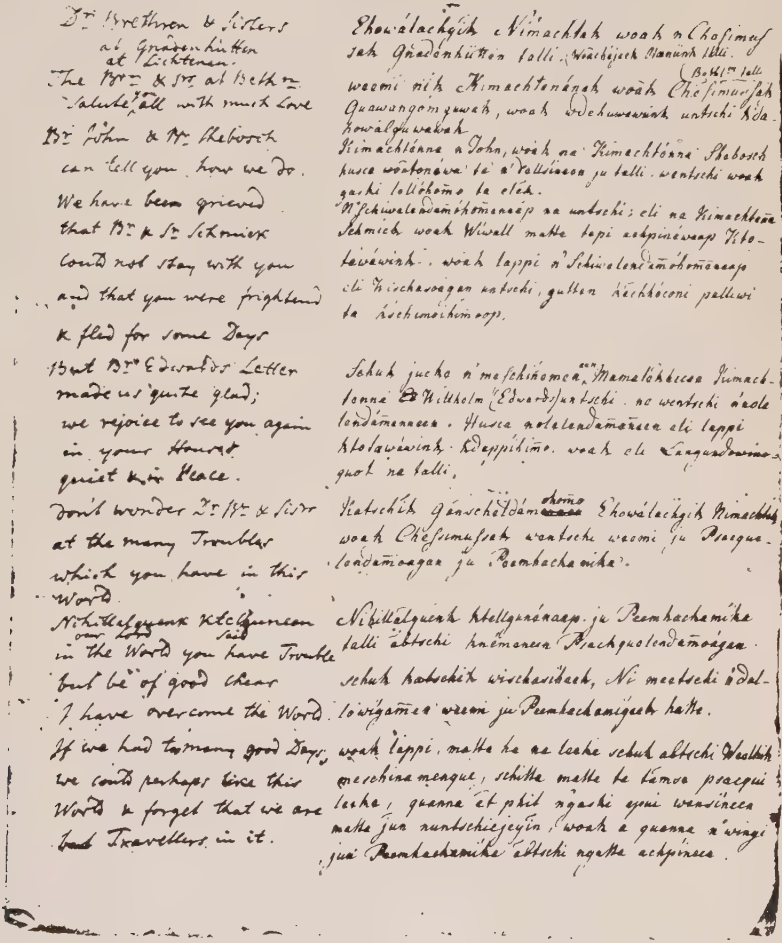
[1] John Heckewelder—For biographical note see page 119.

[2] John Joseph Bull, named Schebosh (Running Water) by the Indians was born at Skippack, Pa., May 27, 1721. Reared a Quaker, he united with the Moravians in 1742, married a Christian Indian in 1746, and became a useful assistant in the mission service. He died in New Salem, Ohio, Sept. 4, 1788.

[3] For biographical note see pages 177, 189.



FIRST PAGE OF A LETTER FROM ETTWEIN TO THE CHRISTIAN INDIANS

From the manuscript in possession of the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.

Where you see anything contrary to that. in yourselves or others it must grieve you and make you pray to our Saviour, for Forgiveness and to Cleanse you from all Sins by his Blood.

Love Him our Saviour as your best Friend, who loves you unspeakably. Fear Him as the all seeing most holy God, who hates all Iniquity & will have us to lead a good & holy Life in this World. Whenever you see a poor ignorant Heathen, thank the Lord humbly, that He has open'd your Eyes to see & your Ears to hear. And tell ev'ry poor Creature, that they are bought and redeemed by the Blood of Christ, the Son of God. And that it is the Will of God that all shall believe in Christ and be saved.

O Dr B'rn and Sisters pray with us to our Sav'r That He may root you all in his Grace and that He may look in Mercy upon your whole Nation & all the Indians about you, that all Darkness which covers them still, may be drove away, by the Light of his Gospel.

We love you all very much as Children of our heavenly Father, Brother & Sisters. Love our white B'rn with you & be obedient to them for they shew you the Way to Life.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

The following letter (E.P. No. 1366) is reproduced as an example of Ettwein's style when writing to heathen Indians. As the postscript shows, he intended it to be communicated as a solemn appeal by representatives of the Christian Indians to the delegates of the various tribes when they met to deal with the American authorities in the treaty of pacification following the Revolutionary War. This treaty was delayed beyond all expectation. It did finally take place in January, 1789. By then, however, the Christian deputies had returned to their families. Yet the message of this letter became the burden of the missionaries in their dealing with the heathen chiefs.

AN APPEAL TO HEATHEN INDIANS

11th July 1787

s. los— [see the watch-word] [1]—

Dear Brothers & Cousins.

May the great God who made us & all what we see, who gives hearing, seeing & feeling, clear your Eyes to see & open your Ears to hear, what we now in his Name have to say unto you.

1.) That there is a God, a Being who created Heaven & Earth, who upholds ev'ry Thing, is a Rewarder of the good & punisher of the Evil, your senses demonstrate unto you.

2.) No man by his own Understanding & Wit can find out, who that God is, he is hid from us, & if we seek to find it out by our own reason we fall in foolish Notions & hurtful Errors.

3.) We have a Book call'd Bible, that is a Collection of all the Words & Messages of God, to men, since the Beginning of the World, by that we know God and his Love for us and to what Purpose he has made us. You can think that you were not only made for hunting carrying on War—

4.) In that Book we read, that God will that all Men should come to the knowledge of Truth & be saved. He loves all Nations and has commanded that they all shall be informed of it.

5.) By his Goodness & Mercy we also have heard it & believe it and from a Desire to do his Will and to assist him in saving his People from their sins, We have these 30. years been willing to teach you the Will of God, but you have been against the Messengers of God, you would not have his Voice heard in your Country.

6.) We now tell you, that all your Trouble that you have been driven from one Place to the other, that your Tribes dwindle away, that you perish in War or Drunkeness, that you have few Children all comes upon you, by the Anger of God, because you will not listen to his Word & be obedient unto him.

7.) hearken now unto us, your real Friends, God commands you to let his Word be preached amongst you freely, give over all opposition, if you hear what God has done for you & how

[1] "Say among the nations, The Lord reigneth," Ps. 96:10.

you can be saved & you are unwilling to accept it, ev'ry one for his own Person, it will be his own Fault, but if you as a Nation reject the Grace of God and will not know his Will, we can assure you, it will be your utter Ruin & Destruction in this World & in Eternity.

The Gospel must be preached on this whole earth & all who resist it will be destroyed one Way or the other by Gods Wrath. Repent of your evil Ways.

Dieses wurde den Ind. Brüdern recommendirt, wenn einige von ihnen zur Treaty giengen, in Namen der Ind. Gem.

[This was recommended for the use of the Indian Brethren, in case some of them should be present at the Treaty, as representatives of the Indian congregation.]

EDITORIAL NOTE.

The following letter (E.P., No. 1012) was addressed by Ettwein to Dr. William Linn, then pastor of the Dutch Collegiate Church in New York City and regent of the University of the State of New York. It is reproduced for the sake of the summary which it contains of Moravian missionary principles at the close of the eighteenth century.

Dr. Linn had begun this correspondence. He had read with interest the history of the Moravian mission to the Indians in North America written by G. H. Loskiel in far-off Livonia and published in 1789. On May 23, 1797, he sent a letter to Ettwein, (E.P. No. 368), asking for information on recent developments in this work. Linn had a practical reason for this inquiry; he was a Director of the New York Missionary Society which desired to undertake work among the Indians at this time.

LETTER OF JOHN ETTWEIN TO DR. WILLIAM LINN, MARCH 3, 1798

Dr Wm Linn at N york.

Revd & Dear Sir,

I received your Kind Letter dated Febr 14th. with a printed Plan of Social Prayers in the City of Nyork, accept my hearty Thanks for both. I love and esteem the Nyork Missionary Society and pray for its prosperity in sending the Gospel to the poor Heathen.

As the Directors are contemplating a Mission in the Indian Country, at some distance from White Inhabitants, and intend to send 4. Men, I'll beg your leave to make a few Remarks. It will be very difficult, to find a place for them, in the Indian Country without the concurrence of the Superintendent in that Nation to which they are Sent.

The character of the Missionaries, should be very good, they should have hearts glowing with love to Christ and yearning Bowels with compassion for the unhappy State, of Unbelievers. If they have any other View but the Honor and Interest of Christ in the Salvation of poor Sinners, they will be disappointed. They should be able to say: We come unto you in the Name of the Lord our God!

The Missionaries should take great Care never to speak of the Divisions of the Christian Churches. Our call is to make Christians and not Proselytes of one or the other Sect of Christians.

To beginn a Mission. Single men are for several considerations, the fittest Workmen, but they cannot be too circumspect and careful to avoid all private conversation with the other sex the Indians are very Suspicious and the Squas hankering after white Men; as soon as there are females baptised, at least one married Pair will be necessary.

If the Missionaries, denie themselves all use of Rum, they will save themselves much trouble and perhaps some blame. the Indians smell that Stuff too quick. by giving them a little in recompense for Small Services, many have been hurt. The first

concern of the Society, ought to be, to find an open Door for their Missionaries. A Place where they can dwell, with the good Will of some Indians (perhaps under the Pretence to learn their Tongue) under the Protection of our Heavenly Father and the U. St. where they can plant the Standard of the Cross.

Dear Sir, your Queries, I'll try to answer in Simplicity & Truth as well as I can.

Where a Mission could be sent, with the prospect of making the greatest Impression? I cannot judge! I'll pray God with you, to direct your Way to such a nation, which is most prepared to receive his Word. I should think the Southern Indians, Creeks, Cheerokees, Choctas, would be proper objects for Missionaries. The United Brethren have at present none in those parts, tho' they at several Periods have contemplated a Mission in the Cheerokees Towns, which was piously wished for, by one of that Nation, baptised in one of our Indian Congregations, who died in faith, before his return to his own country.[1]

The Residence of our Missionaries,[2] is at present in upper Canada on Retrench R. now call'd by the English Thames River, they were driven from New Salem, at Petquotting, by the War, into Canada, that Government compassionately granted them a good Tract of Land on Retrench River where they settled in the Wilderness. They call their Settlement Fairfield. Many White people have since settled around about them. 2. of the Missionaries serve them on their request in 2 or 3. places, as ministers on the Lords-Day and other occasions. Some of their neighbours, Chipuwa Indians, a very wild nation Frequently pay them a Visit, to fill their hungry Bellies, attend sometimes a meeting, the best confess, that they were afraid to become believers, on account of their Relations.

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[1] The first Cherokee convert won by Zeisberger was Noah, baptized on July 4, 1773 (see E.P. No. 790a and Bethlehem Diary Oct. 14, 1773) This caused great rejoicing; for Moravians had long hoped to evangelize that particular tribe, and Noah now offered to serve as guide and intermediary. Plans were frequently made thereafter for initiating a work among them. Ettwein's son, John, being asked during his last illness whether he expected to die, answered with a smile: "First I want to go to the Cherokees."—See his memoir.

[2] Fairfield, in what is now Oxford Township, Canada, founded by Zeisberger in 1792.

We are about, to transplant some Indian families, from Fairfield with 1 or 2. Missionaries, to Muskingum, to begin a Mission in the U. St. Mr. B. Mortimer[3] has for that purpose, lately received & accepted a call, to that Mission.

Quer. How are missionaries to procure a Subsistence?

Our Missionaries are content with food & raiment which is provided for them by the Society! Where they have a stopping and some baptised Indians living with them, they seek to raise their bread as others do, by farming & planting some corn, etc. and the members of their congregation, are always ready and willing, to assist them. If the Society can not conveniently supply them, with clothing and other Necessaries; they have leave to provide themselves in the best manner they can and draw upon the Treasurer of the Society. Their Travelling expences are always paid. I reckon the yearly expence of the Society, for the present Mission, Circa 100£. The super-annuated or otherwise disabled Missionaries, Children at School and the Widows of Missionaries, are maintained by the Soc:

Our Missionaries never had any other Implements of Husbandry, than Grupping hows[4] Corn hows and Axes. But lately they got a Plough to sow some Grain. In their former Settlements they tried to sow flax, Wheat, and other Grain, but it would not do, as they could not get a ripe Seed, on account of the great Swarms of Birds and other Vermin.

The Indians never Shewd a Desire to learn Trades except, Smiths, some of the Wild Indians would sometimes say: If you love us, send us some Persons, who can teach us to make Gunpowder.

Our Society or Missionaries never made Presents to the Indian Chiefs, to gain their favour and protection! I know but one Instance, where the Indian Brethren on Muskingum collected a number of Wampums and sent them by a Solemn Message as a Present to the Wiondot or Delamatinos Chiefs, (the acknowledged owners of Muskingum River) to get from them, a Confirmation of the Grant of Land, which the Delaware Chiefs had given them on Muskingum. Visitors and travelling Indians,

[3] For biographical note see page 197.

[4] Grubbing hoes.

friends & foes are hospitably treated by the Christian Indians and their Missionaries.

Our Missionaries among the Indians, never had any other pecuniary support, but as above said.

I think if Missionaries should go, without the Consent or Recomendation of Government, to one of the Indian Nations in the U. St. they would transgress the Law regulating the Intercourse with the Indian Nations. It is now just 50. years that the Rev'd Da. Z. [David Zeisberger] in seeking the Way to the Six Nations, without a Passport, was taken up at Shenectady with his Compagnion, sent to Nyork into Prison, where they sat 8. Weeks.

Our Missionaries are prohibited all Trades and Concurrance in selling or buying Land. I remember that many years ago, 2. Baptist Ministers, came to Gekelemuchpeking or New-Comers Town on Muskingum to preach the Gospel; to prove themselves real Friends and Wellwishers to the Indians, they advised them, to keep their bukskins and Furs, till they should hear from them, where they could get the best Price! and this was directly used against them and their professed Love.

I think a Letter of Recomendation, for the Missionaries, in a common, plain, but affectionate Way without any figures with a Belt of Wampum, would be well received, a great deal will depend on the Interpretor.

I know no other Name for the Wampanos, they were neighbours and relations to the Mohikans, a small nation now most extinct & lost among other Nations, among the first fruit of our Mission, were many of them, on Kent R. in Connecticut.

Mr. J. Heckewaelder[5] was never among the Tartars. What he judged about the affinity, of the Delaware Tongue (which he understands) with the Tongue of an Asiatic Nation, about Mount Caucasus, was from a Specimen of the last mention'd, in the possession of a Gentleman in Philad. of which he had a perusal.

I can say my heart rejoices at the plan for Social Prayers, for the advancement of the Kingdom of God and the Conversion of the Heathen, the joint Prayer of so many Intercessors, will

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[5] For biographical note see page 119.

certainly be acceptable to God and he will manifest it, that it came before Him. To have these monthly Prayer Meetings, by rotation in the different Churches as proposed, seems to me a very good plan it will show the Unity of many, it can cherish mutual Love & confidence in the several congregations and their Ministers, and if ev'ry Minister, when his Turn is, to be the Mouth of the praying Assembly, is moved by that Spirit, who cries: Abba Dear Father! and when ev'ry Discourse or Lecture is delivered as the Word of God, in Singleness of heart, without any Spice of the Speakers own opinions: The blessing of God, Father, Son and holy Ghost will richly attend these monthly Meetings, wherever they are. That it may be so, shall remain the Prayer of

Rev'd and dear Sir

Your affectionate Friend & Brother.

Appendix A

A Chronicle of Ettwein's More Important Journeys In America

(Compiled chiefly from Ettwein's autobiographical notes and entries in the Bethlehem Diary)

1754—April 20	Arrived in Bethlehem from New York City.
Aug. 5 - 12	Attended synod in Gnadenhütten on the Mahony.
Oct. 18 - 29	Visited Allemängel and Gnadenhütten on the Mahony.
Sept. 9 - 11	Visited Friedensthal beyond the Blue Mountains.
Sept. 22 - 29	Visited Oley and Maguntsche.
1755—April 9 - May 2	Visited congregations in the Lititz district: Oley, Warwick, York, Lancaster and Graceham.
May 15 - June 4	Visited congregations in Penn'a: Allemängel, Heidelberg, Bethel, Lebanon, Donegal, Warwick, Oley.
June 22 - 25	Visited Gnadenhütten on the Mahony.
Sept. 23 - Dec. 11	Stationed in New York; visiting Pachgatgoch and Oblong on four different occasions during this period.
Dec. 19 - 31	Visited in New York.
1756—	(Ettwein records having made two visits in this year to the congregations in the Lititz district.)
June 13 - July 30	Visited Warwick, Lancaster, York, Graceham, Donegal, Muddy Creek, Bethel, Tulpehocken, Heidelberg, Oley, Salisbury.
1757—	(Ettwein records having visited Philadelphia in this year.)
Feb. 27 - March 30	Visited Oblong, Pachgatgoch, Scatticok (Scatacook), New York.
Aug. 26 - 29	Visited Oley.
1758—	(Ettwein records having visited Philadelphia in this year.)
June 22 - July 22	Journey to Bethabara in Wachovia, N. C.
1759—May 3 - 29	Journey from Bethabara to Bethlehem.
Sept. 11 - Oct. 4	Journey from Bethlehem to Bethabara.
1762—Nov. 23 - Dec. 21	Journey through South Carolina, visiting Charleston, Amalia, the Saluda and Broad River districts, Orangeburg.
1764—April 3 - 29	Journey from Bethabara to Bethlehem.
May 24 - June 22	Journey from Bethlehem to Bethabara.
1765—March 15 - April 23	Journey from Bethabara to Savannah, Ga., and return, visiting Charleston, Ebenezer; and the Saluda, Broad, and Catawba River districts (some 800 - 900 miles).
1766—April 17 - May 20	Journey from Bethabara to Bethlehem, visiting Brunswick, Wilmington, Tarboro, Halifax, Williamsburg, Dumfries, Colchester, Petersburg, Richmond, Freder-

		icksburg, Alexandria, Frederickstown, Lancaster.
	June 24 - July 11	Journey from Bethlehem to Bethabara.
	Aug. 25 - Sept. 19	Journey from Bethabara to Bethlehem.
1767—	Jan. 2 - 12	Visit in New York (Interview with Gov. Dunmore regarding land near Lake Champlain).
	Feb. 12 - 14.	Visit in Emmaus and Oley.
	March	(Ettwein records having gone to Lancaster in this month to attend to the payment of £500 to William Allen and having taken this money to Philadelphia.)
	May 1 - June 16	Journey to Staten Island and thence to New England, visiting Newport, Broad Bay, Pachgatgoch, and Sichem.
1768—	April 25 - May 20	Journey to Wyalusing and Schechschiquanunk.
	Oct. 14 - 28	Visit in Lititz (for synod).
1769—		(Ettwein records having visited Minnisinks and Oldman's Creek, N. J., in January of this year. He also states that he visited Hope, N. J., in nearly every month of this year.)
1770—	Jan. 28 - 30	Visit in Hope.
	Feb. 3 - 10	Visit in Lititz.
	Feb. 19 - 24	Visit in Philadelphia.
	March 26 - 29	Visit in Hope.
	May 20 and 21	Visit in Hope.
	Aug. 3 - 7	Visit in Hope.
	Oct. 20 - 22 (?)	Visit in Hope.
	Nov. 4 - 12	Visit in Philadelphia and Oldman's Creek.
1771—	April 6 - 8	Visit in Hope.
	July 12 - 15	Visit in Gnadenhütten on the Mahony.
	Aug. 12 - Sept. 15	Ettwein accompanied the visiting Brethren from Germany, Loretz and Gregor, to Lititz and neighboring congregations and journeyed with them thence to Wachovia, N. C.
	Nov. 9 - Dec. 3	Journey from Wachovia to Bethlehem.
1772—	Jan. 2 - (?)	Visit in Hope.
	Feb. 28 - March 10	Visit in Philadelphia (presenting a petition to the Assembly on behalf of the Christian Indians).
	March 20 - (?)	Visit in Hope.
	May 18 - Sept. 25	Journey to the Susquehanna and the Beaver Rivers in Penn'a and to the Muskingum in Ohio. (Ettwein accompanied the Christian Indians on this occasion by their own request, see E.P. No. 107 and Bethlehem Diary, March 13, 72.)
	Dec. 19 -	
1773—	Jan. 2	Visit in Hope.
	Feb. 9 - 11	Visit in Gnadenhütten on the Mahony.
	Feb. 16 - 18	Visit in Oley.
	March 2 - May 1	Journey through New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island.

	Aug. 13 - Sept. 3	Visit in Philadelphia, substituting for the pastor.
	Oct. 1 - 4	Visit in Hope.
	Nov. 6 - 9	Visit in Gnadenhütten on the Mahony.
1774—	June 8 - 11	Visit in Gnadenhütten on the Mahony.
	July 26 - 29	Visit in Hope.
	Sept. 16 - 20	Visit in Gnadenhütten on the Mahony (dedication of new church)
	Sept. 21 - Oct. 17	Journey through Maryland—visiting Baltimore, Georgetown, Carroll's Manor, Graceham—and York, and Lititz.
	Oct. 22 - 24	Visit in Maxatawny.
	Nov. 24 - 28	Visit in Hope (helping to select site of new settlement).
	Dec. 5 -	
1775—	May 26	Served as temporary pastor of Hope.
1778—	April 3 - 6	Visit in Hope.
	May 7 - 25	Visit in York and Lancaster.
	Sept. 10 - 13	Visit in Philadelphia.
	Oct. 29 - Nov. 11	Visit in Philadelphia.
1779—	May 6 - 9	Visit in Philadelphia.
	May 15 - 25	Visit in Hope.
	Oct. 14 - 18	Visit in Hope.
	Oct. 27 - 31	Visit in Philadelphia.
	Nov. 2 -	
1780—	April 1	Served as temporary pastor of Hope.
	May 12 - 15	Visit in Hope.
	May 25 - Oct. 12	Served as assistant pastor of Lititz.
	Nov. 10 - 14	Visit in Hope.
	Dec. 1 - 8	Visit in Hope.
1781—	Feb. 1 - 6	Visit in Hope.
	March 20 and 21	Visit in Hope.
	April 2 and 3	Visit in Hope.
	June 30 - July 3	Visit in Hope.
	Aug. 17 -	
1782—	July 6	Served as assistant pastor of Lititz (visiting from that point all the surrounding congregations in Sept. and again in Oct. 81).
	July 26 - 29	Visit in Hope, accompanying Gen. G. Washington into New Jersey.
	Sept. 2 - 23	Served as assistant pastor of Lititz.
	Nov. 2 - 11	Visit in Hope (consecration of its church on Nov. 8).
	Dec. 9 - 19	Visit in Lititz.
1783—	July 8 - 28	Served as temporary pastor in Philadelphia, visiting Oldman's Creek from that city.
	Aug. 4 - 20	Visit in New York and Staten Island.
	Sept. 20 - 22	Visit in Hope.
	Sept. 29 - Oct. 7	Visit in Lititz.
	Oct. 21 - Nov. 6	Visit in Philadelphia and Princeton.
	Dec. 10 - 13	Visit in Hope.
1784—	April 3 - 20	Visit in Lititz.
	May 21 - June 2	Visit in Philadelphia.
	June 17 - 23	Visit in Lititz.
	July 3 - 5	Visit in Hope.

	Aug. 14 - (?)	Visit in Gnadenhütten on the Mahony.
	Sept. 13 - Oct. 29	Visit in Lititz and Maryland.
	Nov. 2 - Dec. 10	Served as temporary pastor in Philadelphia.
	Dec. 23 - 28	Visit in Hope.
1785—	May 11 - 27	Visit in New York and Staten Island.
	July 12 - Aug. 10	Visit in Lititz.
	Sept. 26 - Dec. 8	Served as temporary pastor in Nazareth, visiting from that place Philadelphia (Oct. 21 - 25) and Hope (Nov. 7 - 9).
	Dec. 12 - 19	Visit to Lititz and Lancaster.
1786—	Jan. 26 - Feb. 3	Visit in Hope.
	March 1 - 8	Visit in Philadelphia.
	March 13 - 21	Visit in Hope.
	May 5 - 8 (?)	Visit in Maxatawny.
	May 16 - 24	Visit in Lititz.
	June 3 - 6	Visit in Hope.
	Aug. 11 - 26	Visit in Hope, Sichem, and Oblong.
	Oct. 19 - 24	Visit in Philadelphia.
	Dec. 18 -	
1787—	- Jan. 2	Visit in Hope.
	April 22 - (?)	Visit in Maxatawny.
	July 25 - 27	Visit in Hope.
	Aug. 1 - (?)	Visit in Philadelphia.
	Aug. 6 - 16	Visit in Lititz, for the dedication of the new church.
	Sept. 5 - 11	Visit in Philadelphia.
	Sept. 22 - 24	Visit in Maxatawny.
	Oct. 1 - 15	Visit in New York, in connection with negotiations with Congress.
	Nov. 19 - 29	Visit in Philadelphia, in connection with negotiations for the incorporation of the S. P. G., visiting Oldman's Creek from that city (Nov. 24 - 26).
1788—	May 6 - 20	Visit in New York and Staten Island.
	June 21 - 23	Visit in Maxatawny.
	July 9 - 11	Visit in Gnadenhütten on the Mahony.
	Aug. 23 - 28	Visit in Hope.
	Sept. 1 - Oct. 10	Visit in Lititz and surrounding congregations.
	Nov. 6 - 10	Visit in Hope.
	Nov. 27 - Dec. 3	Visit in Philadelphia and Oldman's Creek.
1789—	Jan. 2 -	
1790—	- Jan 1	Journey to Herrnhut for General Synod, and return.
	April 22 - May 25	Visit in Lititz and Graceham.
	July 5 - 22	Visit in Philadelphia and Oldman's Creek.
	Aug. 14 - 16	Visit in Gnadenhütten on the Mahony.
	Aug. 25 - Sept. 23	Visit in New York, Staten Island, and Newport.
	Nov. 6 - 10 (?)	Visit in Hope.
	Nov. 22 - Dec. 1	Visit in Lancaster.
1791—	Jan. 3 - 20	Visit in Philadelphia (resulting in a grant of 5000 acres to the S.P.G. by the State of Pennsylvania).
	May 5 - 9	Visit in Gnadenhütten on the Mahony.
	Aug. 8 - 26	Visit in Lititz.

Oct. 24 - Nov. 4	Visit in Philadelphia and Trenton (securing the incorporation of the S.P.G. in New Jersey).
Nov. 29 - Dec. 9	Visit in Philadelphia.
1792—Jan. 6 - 9	Visit in Hope.
Jan. 27 - Feb. 3	Visit in Philadelphia.
Aug. 27 - Sept. 15	Visit in Philadelphia.
Sept. (?) - Oct. 5	Visit in New York and Staten Island.
1793—Jan. 13 - 18	Visit in Hope.
May 7 - 20	Visit in Lititz and Lancaster.
Sept. 20 - 23	Visit in Gnadenhütten on the Mahony.
Oct. 14 - 23	Visit in New York and Staten Island.
1794—May 20 - 23	Visit in Hope.
July 14 - 26	Visit in Philadelphia, Woolwich, and Oldman's Creek.
1795—April 20 - 30	Visit in Lititz.
June 13 - 15	Visit in Maxatawny.
Sept. 17 - 21	Visit in Gnadenhütten on the Mahony.
1796—April 18 - May 14	Visit in New York and Staten Island.
Oct. 17 - 25	Visit in Lititz.
1798—June 11 - 28	Visit in New York and Staten Island.
1800—July 2 - 8	Visit in Lititz.

APPENDIX B

A Catalogue of the Ettwein Papers

Documents Preserved in the *Moravian Archives*, Bethlehem, Pa.

I. Relating to Financial Matters

Bethabara congregation accounts, June 1, 65—May 31, 66. No. 1.
Bethabara account—appendices—June 1, 65—May 31, 66. No. 2.
Memorandum concerning the accounts of S. Lechinsky and the Bethlehem Brethren's Choir, 79 - 83. No. 3.
Income from Bethlehem ferry, 71 - 84. No. 4.
Notes on the account of the Single Brethren's Choir, Bethlehem 87. No. 5.
Value of Bethlehem property in 96. No. 6.
Memorandum concerning the accounts of Bethlehem and Nazareth, 96. No. 7.
Financial status of Bethlehem Choirs and industries (97?). No. 1133a.
Excerpts from Bethlehem accounts, 93 - 97. No. 8.
Memorandum concerning account book for the mill, undated. No. 9.
Congregational income in Bethlehem and Nazareth, undated. No. 10.
Prices on goods in the Bethlehem store, Dec. 19, 77. No. 11.
Stock and profits in the Bethlehem store, 83 - 92. No. 12.
Memorandum concerning the Bethlehem store, 85 - 92. (with note of Sept. 94). No. 13.
Notes on the accounts of the Bethlehem store, 71 - 92. No. 14.
Notes on the management of the store (93?). No. 15.
Notes on the store accounts, 84 - 92. No. 16.
Excerpt from Christiansbrunn account 81- 88. No. 17.
Statement by Ettwein regarding the Christiansbrunn land. Oct. 93. No. 18.
Notes to the minutes of Nov. 3, 95 concerning Christiansbrunn land. No. 19.
Data regarding Christiansbrunn and lists of adjoining farms (95?). No. 20.
Lists of documents relating to Christiansbrunn, Dec. 95. No. 21.
Three proposals for the future management of the Christiansbrunn land (95?). No. 22.
Memorandum concerning the Christiansbrunn land, Jan. 29, 97. No. 23.
Minutes of meeting of Prov. Board concerning Christiansbrunn land, Feb. 16, (97?). No. 24.
Memorandum concerning Christiansbrunn land, Feb. 97. No. 25.
Income from Christiansbrunn for 96 and 97. No. 26.
Memorandum concerning annual accounts of Christiansbrunn (97?). No. 27.
Ettwein's views on the proposed change in management of Christiansbrunn, Nov. 3, 95. No. 28.
Von Schweinitz's views on the sale of the Christiansbrunn land. No. 29.
Ettwein's comments on von Schweinitz' proposal to sell Christiansbrunn land. No. 30.
Additional note concerning Christiansbrunn land. No. 31.
Proposal for changing the mode of management of the Christiansbrunn land, undated. No. 32.
Proposal for complete change in management of Christiansbrunn, undated. No. 33.
Another proposal for complete change in management of Christiansbrunn, undated. No. 34.

Accounts of Friedensthal, 72 - 85. No. 35.
Status of Friedensthal (88?). No. 17b.
Status of Gnadenthal congregation, 88. No. 17a.
Lititz accounts, Aug. 19, 71. No. 36.
Lititz accounts, May 31, 80. No. 36a.
Notes on Lititz accounts, undated. No. 37.
Statements of Nazareth store, 75 - 87. No. 38.
Memorandum concerning Nazareth congregational accounts, May 31, 91. No. 39.
Notes on Nazareth accounts, 91 and 92. No. 40.
Ettwein's comment on accounts from Nazareth, 92. No. 41.
Notes on Nazareth congregational accounts, June 12, 94 - May 31, 95. No. 42.
Notes concerning Nazareth congregational accounts, 94 and 95. No. 43.
Statement of annual sales in Nazareth store. No. 44.
Ettwein's statement concerning financial agreements reached at the dissolution of the General Economy, 71. No. 45.
Statement of settlement reached in 71 between the Unity and the American Church (98?). No. 46.
Discussion of problems connected with the Sustentation account, 88. No. 47
Memorandum concerning expenditures on Sustentation account (90?). No. 48.
Memoranda concerning accounts, chiefly dealing with Sustentation (93?). No. 49.
Proposal for congregations to meet annual deficit in Sustentation account, 97. No. 50.
Notes on sundry provincial obligations (Sustentation) (98?). No. 51.
Accounts of the administration of Unity property, June 1, 92 - May 96. No. 52.
List of creditors of the Church, April 71. No. 53.
Amounts due on interest, 81. No. 54.
Memorandum concerning drafts on David Nitschmann, May 27, 83. No. 55.
Memorandum concerning financial administration, 86. No. 56.
Notes concerning congregational accounts for 88. No. 57.
Notes concerning congregational accounts, 87 - 88 (containing list of eighteen buildings belonging to the Bethlehem congregation). No. 58.
Excerpts from Ettwein's report to the Synod of 89. No. 59.
Notes concerning congregational accounts, 93. No. 60.
Notes on congregational accounts, 95. No. 61.
Notes on accounts, 96. No. 62.
Notes on the administration account, June 1, 96. No. 63.
Queries in connection with congregational accounts, Aug. 97. No. 64.
Notes concerning land accounts, 93 - 97. No. 65.
Memorandum regarding purchases and sales of land, 91-97. No. 66.
Schropp's reply to Cunow's notes concerning congregational accounts, 98. No. 67.
Report on the settlement of the estate of Matthias Gräff, 81. No. 68.
Account due from Samson Howel, Sr. (81?). No. 69.
Memorandum on Detmers' report on the Casslers, (86?). No. 70.
Sundry expense items. No. 71.
Memorandum concerning the bridge company. No. 72.
Average expenses of the Single Brethren (72?). No. 73.
Average expenses of the Single Sisters and Widows, 72. No. 74.
Average expenses of the Single Sisters, Jan. 86. No. 75.

Average expenses of the Single Sisters, undated. No. 76.
Average expenses of the Single Sisters and Widows, 86. No. 77.
Comparison between salaries of various workers (prior to 89). No. 78.
Account of income from the Friedensthal farms, 58 - 64. No. 79.
Survey of crops from Nazareth farms, 72 - 81. No. 80.
Inventories of the farms, March 1, 85. No. 971a.
Income from church farms, etc., 71 - 85. No. 81.
Income and expenditures connected with Nazareth farms, 83 - 90. No. 82.
Notes on income from Nazareth farms, 88 - 92. No. 83.
Proposal to place the church farms on a new footing, 94. No. 84.
Suggestions for improving crops (July 9, 97). No. 85.
Memorandum concerning the milk from the farm, 94. No. 86.
Monthly receipts from butter in Gnadenthal, 91 - 94. No. 87.
Investigation into cost of milk. No. 88.
Report to board of trustees concerning cost of milk. No. 89.
Notes on amount of milk and butter produced in Gnadenthal. No. 90.
Memorandum concerning upkeep of roads in Bethlehem township, 92 - 94. No. 91.
Notes on taxes, etc. undated. No. 92.

II. Papers of an Historical Nature

Chronicle of building activities in Bethlehem from 1754 on. No. 93.
"A Short Account of the Disturbances in America and of the Brethren's Conduct and Suffering in This Connection." No. 94.
Notes concerning the events of July 2 - 7, 75. No. 95.
Record of the experiences of Bethlehem during the war (74 - 77). No. 96.
History of the St. James' Church in Warwick Township, Lancaster. Pa., (85?). No. 97.
Account of the origin and organization of the congregation at Gnadenhütten on the Mahony. No. 98.
Remarks and annotations concerning traditions, customs, language of the Indians in North America, 88. (incomplete) No. 99.
Copy of the above paper, used by Jared Sparks. (complete). No. 100.
Historical account of the Indian mission. No. 101.
A brief account of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum. No. 102.
Account of the massacre at Gnadenhütten, Ohio. No. 103.
Statement of moves made by the Moravian Church when Congress proposed to rescind the Ohio grant, Jan. 92. No. 104.

III. Journals, Etc.

Autobiographical notes. Nos. 105, 106, 107.
Official memoir. No. 108.
Chronicle of Ettwein's travels. No. 109.
List of places in which Ettwein preached in America. No. 110.
Journal of journey to New York City, New London, Newport, Boston, and Broadbay, Me., May 1 - June 16, 67. No. 111.
Travel journal of Ettwein, David Zeisberger, and Gottlob Sensemann from Bethlehem to Friedenshütten, etc., April 25 - May 15, 68. No. 112.
Journal of journey from Bethlehem to Friedenshütten and Ettwein's stay in the latter place, May 18 - June 9, 72. No. 113.
Travel journal of Ettwein and Rothe from Friedenshütten to Langunto-Utenünk on the Beaver River, June 8 - Aug. 5, 72. No. 114.
Travel journal of Ettwein and company from Langunto-Utenünk to the Ohio and his return, Aug. 12 - Sept. 25, 72. No. 115.

Journal of journey through New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, March 2 - May 1, 73. No. 116.
Journal of journey to Oldman's Creek, N. J., July 94. No. 117.
(See also section VIII of this appendix)

IV. Letters

A. Letters received by Ettwein

Abel (the Indian), 2 letters, Nov. 3, 90 and undated. Nos. 118 and 118a.
Anders, Valerius Traugott, 1 letter, Sept. 12, 92. No. 119.
Arndt, John, 2 letters, April 7, 83 and Oct. 7, 84. Nos. 120 and 121.
Austin, David, 2 letters, Sept. 94 and Sept. 7, 94. Nos. 122 and 122a.
Beatty, Thomas, 1 letter, June 18, 87. No. 123.
Bell, William, 4 letters, July 25, 87 - April 12, 90. Nos. 123 - 127.
Benezet, Anthony, 1 letter, April 12, 84. No. 128.
Benzien, Christian Lewis, 2 letters, March 13 and 15, 98. Nos. 129 and 129a.
Biddle, Clement, 2 letters, Aug. 21, 95 and June 14, 97. Nos. 130 and 131.
(Birkby, James, see Nos. 1410, 1411, 1419.)
Böhler, Peter, 10 letters, Sept. 10, 65 - Jan 23, 75. Nos. 132 - 140 and 181a.
van Brocke, J. H., 1 letter, May 31, 91. No. 141.
Brodersen, (Jasper), 2 letters, May 20, 55 and Sept. 9, 63. Nos. 142 and 143.
Brodhead, Daniel, 1 letter, Oct. 23, 81. No. 144.
Bronnenkandt, John Caspar, 1 letter, Jan. 15, 73. No. 145.
Bulley, Robert, 1 letter, July 20, 73. No. 146.
(Butler, Richard, see No. 1402).
van Calker, B., 3 letters, May 31, 90 - Jan. 14, 98. Nos. 147 - 149.
Cist, Carl, 1 letter (to Ettwein?), March 15, 88. No. 150.
Croghan, George, 1 letter, Dec. 27, 70. No. 151.
Dallas, A. J., 1 letter, June 15, 97. No. 152.
Dean, Joseph, 1 letter (to Ettwein?). April 13, 78. No. 153.
Drinker, James, 1 letter, Aug. 9, 72. No. 154.
Drinker, Henry, 1 letter, Aug. 8, 91. No. 155.
Dürninger, Abraham and Co., 1 letter, April 12, 83. No. 156.
Duvernoy, Christopher, 2 letters, June 27, 90 and June 28, 93. Nos. 157 and 158.
Dworzinsky, (Balthasar and A. M. E.) 1 letter, Nov. 17, 90. No. 159.
Ealer, Peter, 1 letter, Jan. 6, 91. No. 160.
Eber, "Brother and Sister", 1 letter May 20, 71. No. 161.
Edmond, John, 2 letters, Aug. 6, 91 and Jan. 25, 96. Nos. 162 and 163.
Edwards, William, 11 letters, Oct. 30, 76 - July 16, 96. No. 164 - 174.
Ettwein, Anna Benigna, 10 letters, May 17, 72 - Feb. 3, 75 and undated. Nos. 175 - 184.
Ettwein, Christian, 1 letter, June 28, 75. No. 185.
Ettwein, Dorl, 1 letter, July 6, 56. No. 186. (see also Dorl Kohler).
Ettwein, Gottlieb, 2 letters, Dec. 10, 72 and Aug. 21, 91. Nos. 187 and 188.
Ettwein, Jacob, 1 letter, April 15, 75. No. 189.
Ettwein, John Theophilus, 1 letter (enclosure in No. 187), Dec. 10, 72. No. 190.
Eyerly (Eyerle), Jacob, Jr., 8 letters, Jan. 28, 91 - March 16, 94. Nos. 191 - 198.
Feldhausen, Christopher, 2 letters, Sept. 27, 89 and Aug. 15, 90. Nos. 199 and 200
Gallatin, Albert, 1 letter, May 4, 96. No. 201.

Gambold, John, 1 letter, April 2 (?). No. 202.
Gardiner, John, 1 letter, Oct. 7, 83. No. 203.
Gardiner, S. W., 1 letter, April 14, 69. No. 204.
Garrison, Johanna, 2 letters, Nov. 26, 93 and Feb. 19, 97. No. 205 and 206.
Gates, Horatio, 2 letters, July 8, 77 and Nov. 78. Nos. 207 and 208.
Geisler, John Christian, 1 letter, June 14, 73. No. 209.
von Gersdorf, Susel, 7 letters, May 18, 90 - Sept. 4, 94 and undated. Nos. 210 - 216.
Graff, John Michael, 3 letters, March 9, 68 - Nov. 1, 68. Nos. 217 - 219.
Gregor, (Christian Frederick), 19 letters, May 3, 68 - June 2, 91. Nos. 220 - 238.
Grölin, John, 1 letter, July 11, 89. No. 239.
H., Chr., 1 letter, April 11, 58. No. 240.
Hammerer, John Daniel, 1 letter, June 13, 66. No. 241.
Handy, John, 1 letter, Aug. 6, 94. No. 242.
Hartley, Thomas, 2 letters, June 7, 96 and Nov. 21, 96. Nos. 243 and 244.
Hastoffer, Adam, 1 letter, Sept. 14, 92. No. 245.
(von Hayn), Louisel, 2 letters, July 21, 54 and Feb. 2, 55. Nos. 246 and 247.
Heckewälder, John, 23 letters, May 24, 74 - Oct. 7, 98. Nos. 248 - 270.
Hegner, J. A., 1 letter, June 1, 90. No. 271.
Heinzmann, John Caspar, 1 letter, Feb. 23, 73. No. 272
(Henry, William, see No. 1392).
Herbst, John, 1 letter, March 14, 91. No. 273.
Hermann, John Frederick, 1 letter, April 26, 89. No. 274.
Herrmann, Wolfgang Frederick, 1 letter, Nov. 25, 53. No. 275.
Hiester, Daniel, 1 letter, Feb. 3, 95. No. 276. (See also Nos. 1422, 1425, 1429)
Himmelsbürger, Anna Dorothy, 1 letter, Nov. 10, 71 No. 277.
von Hohenthal, Count Peter, 6 letters, April 26, 89 - Jan. 29, 91. Nos. 278 - 283.
Hooper, Robert L., 2 letters, Nov. 20, 78 and Aug. 2. 91. Nos. 284 and 285.
Hopson, John, 3 letters, Oct. 4, 90 - June 11, 91. Nos. 286 - 288.
Horne, Willam, 1 letter, Aug. 5, 91. No. 289.
Huber, George, 1 letter, Aug. 6, 95. No. 290.
(Hutchins, Thomas, see No. 1414).
Hütter, Christian Jacob, 1 letter, March 5, 95. No. 291.
Hütter, John L., 4 letters, Aug. 19, 90 - April 7, 91. Nos. 292 - 295.
Jones, Ann, 1 letter, Dec. 9, 97. No. 296.
Jones, Mary, 3 letters, Sept. 16, 95 - March 5, 98. Nos. 297 - 299
Jung, Michael, 19 letters, June 11, 87 - March 8, 99. Nos. 300 - 318.
Jungmann, George, 5 letters, Aug. 21, 69 - May 16, 76 and undated. Nos. 319 - 322 and 1527a.
Kirkland, Samuel, 1 letter, Sept. 12, 92. No. 323.
Kluge, John Peter and Anna Maria, 1 letter, March 20, 1801. No. 324.
Kohler, Andrew, 1 letter, July 11, 91. No. 325.
Kohler, John Martin and Dorl, 8 letters, March 20, 73 - July 25, 92 and undated. Nos. 326 - 333.
Kohlreiff, J. G., 1 letter, July 6, 93. No. 334.
von Kraft, Carl, 1 letter, Nov. 7, 85. No. 335.
Krogstrup, (Otto Christian), 1 letter, March 29, 82. No. 336.
Kunze, John Christian, 2 letters, Aug. 27, 94 and March 31, 96. Nos. 337 and 338.
La Trobe, Benjamin, 1 letter, Oct. 4, 73. No. 339.
La Trobe, Christian Ignatius, 2 letters, March 5, 95 and April 24, 98. Nos. 340 and 341.

Laurens, John, 2 leters, March 28, 78 and Dec. 19, 78. Nos. 342 and 343.
Laurens, Henry, 8 letters, Jan. 22, 78 - Jan. 25, 90. Nos. 344 - 351 and 987a.
Laurens, Henry Jr., 1 letter, June 27, 90. No. 352.
Lauterbach, "Sister", 1 letter, Feb. 28, (91?) No. 353.
Lawatsch, A. A., 1 letter, Oct. 17, 58. No. 354.
Layritz, Paul Eugene, 10 letters, May 5, 69 - Sept. 24, 73. Nos. 355 - 364.
Leth, J. J., 1 letter, Dec. 19, 95. No. 365.
Levers, Robert, 2 letters, May 27, 78 and Dec. 24, 78. Nos. 366 and 367.
Linn, William, 1 letter, May 23, 97. No. 368.
Livingston, Walter, 1 letter, May 28, 93. No. 369.
Loretz, John, 2 letters, June 14, 73 and Sept. 1, 73. Nos. 370 and 371.
Lucius, (John Frederick), 4 letters, Sept. 14, 69 - July 21, 74. Nos. 372 - 375.
von Marschall, Frederick, 21 letters, Feb. 11, 55 - July 9, 93 and undated. No. 376 - 397.
Mason, John, 1 letter, Sept. 2, 79. No. 398.
Matlack, Timothy, 1 letter, Sept. 11, 78. No. 399.
Melsheimer, F. W., 4 letters, April 26, 79 - May 14, 79 and undated. Nos. 400 - 402 and 404.
Melsheimer, J. E., 1 letter, Sept. 11, 89. No. 405.
Mifflin, Thomas, 6 letters, May 20, 93 - Aug. 17, 95. Nos. 406 - 411.
Militin (?) Isaac, 1 letter, Dec. 20, 88. No. 412.
Miller, J. J. H. E., 2 letters, Jan. 22 (52) and July 28, 56. Nos. 413 and 414.
Miller, Peter, 2 letters, Aug. 31, 84 and July 28, 85. Nos. 415 and 416.
Morgan, George, 1 letter, May 17, 79. No. 417.
Morgan, John, 2 letters, April 30, 83 and July 5, 83. Nos. 418 and 419.
Mortimer, Benjamin, 23 letters, Feb. 17, 98 - June 23, 1801. Nos. 420 - 442.
Müh, John Jacob, 1 letter, May 4, 97. No. 443.
Muirson, James, 1 letter, June 23, 86. No. 444.
Mumford, C., 1 letter, Dec. 13, 95. No. 445.
Nitschmann, Christian David, 1 letter, Jan. 2, 74. No. 446.
Ogden, Lewis, 2 letters, July 18, 91 and Sept. 26, 91. Nos. 447 and 448.
Ogden, Uzal, 2 letters, March 2, 96 and Oct. 14, 97. Nos. 449 and 450.
Oppelt, G. Sebastian, 1 letter, Aug. 20, 99. No. 451.
Oswald, John Caspar, 1 letter, June 18, 87. No. 452.
Peters, Richard, 1 letter, Sept. 6, 77. No. 453.
Petzold, Gottlieb, 1 letter, Oct. 21, 58. No. 454.
van Polanen, R. G., 2 letters, undated, Nos. 455 and 456.
Putnam, Rufus, 1 letter, April 8, 92. No. 457.
Randolph, Edmund, 1 letter, July 30, 96. No. 458.
von Rantzau, Eric, 5 letters, April 30, 90 - Nov. 22, 91. Nos. 459 - 463.
Reed, Jos., 1 letter, Nov. 5, 82. No. 464.
Reichel, C. G., 1 letter, June 16, 97. No. 465.
Reichel, John Frederick, 8 letters, Dec. 29, 70 - March 2, 91. Nos. 466 - 473.
Reincke, Abraham, 2 letters, Dec. 22, 55 and July 14, 56. Nos. 474 and 475.
Risler, Jeremiah, 1 letter, Dec. 26, 92. No. 476.
Roth(e), John, 15 letters, March 9, 69 - Oct. 27, 74. Nos. 477 - 491.
Rothe, Benjamin, 1 letter, March 6, 92. No. 492.
Rothe, Christian David, 5 letters, July 7, 90 - Sept. 26, 92. Nos. 493 - 497.
Rush, Benjamin, 1 letter, June 16, 95. No. 498.
Salter, M., 1 letter, June 12, 97. No. 499.
Salter, T., 1 letter, Dec. 5, 98. No. 500.

Samuel, (the Indian), 1 letter, Nov. 20, 88. (two copies) Nos. 501 and 502.
Schebosch, (John Joseph), 2 letters, May 23, (75?) and Nov. 5, 81. Nos. 503 and 504.
Scheurl, John, 2 letters, June 21, 90 and March 27, 91. Nos. 505 and 506.
Schlosser, Peter, 1 letter, May 20, 91. No. 507.
Schmick, John Jacob, 33 letters, Jan. 19, 68 - May 15, 76. Nos. 508 - 540.
Schmidt, John, 4 letters, July 19, 90 - Oct. 31, 91. Nos. 541 - 544.
Schmuz, Phil Chr., 1 letter, July 16, 89. No. 545.
Schnall, John, 1 letter, May 15, 94. No. 546.
Schneider, John, 1 letter, Oct. 19, 74. No. 547.
Schrober, D., 1 letter, Aug. 8, 89. No. 548.
Schropp, John, 1 letter, March 5, 1801. No. 1135a.
Schultz, Chr. 1 letter (to Ettwein?), May 28, 78. No. 549.
von Schweini(t)z, H. Chr. A., 3 letters, March 28, 89 - June 28, 89. Nos. 550 - 552.
Sebold, John, 1 letter, Oct. 15, 68. No. 553.
Seidel, Anna, 1 letter, October 17, 58. No. 554.
Seidel, Anna Johanna, 2 letters, Nov. 25, 68 and July 9, 69. No. 555 and 556.
Seidel, C. G., 1 letter, Oct. 11, 58. No. 557.
Seidel, Nathanael, 8 letters, May 31, 69 - Oct. 17, 69. Nos. 558 - 565.
Sensemann, Gottlob, 16 letters, June 8, 80 - Aug. 10, 98. Nos. 566 - 581.
Shippen, William, Jr., 1 letter, April 3, 94. No. 582.
Siegfried, Col., 1 letter, Oct. 2, 77. No. 583.
Smith, Elijah, 1 letter, Nov. 9, 95. No. 584.
Smith, George, 8 letters, Nov. 23, 92 - April 10, 96. Nos. 585 - 592.
Smith, William, 4 letters, July 7, 90 - Aug. 2, 94. Nos. 593 - 596.
Spangenberg, Augustus G., 6 letters, Nov. 18, 55 - July 2, 72. Nos. 597 - 602.
Steinhauer, John, 3 letters, Dec. 21, 89 - July 20, 92. Nos. 603 - 605.
Sternberg, Martin G., 1 letter, Sept. 16, 91. No. 606.
Stiles, Ezra, 1 letter, May 2, 95. No. 607.
Stobwasser, John Henry, 1 letter, July 9, 90. No. 608.
Taylor, Abraham, 1 letter, Sept. 11, 72. No. 609.
Thorp(e), Edward, 1 letter, June 24, 78. No. 610.
(Thomson, Charles, see Nos. 1387, 1388, 1398, 1400, 1401, 1405, 1407).
Tillofsen, Nils, 4 letters, Aug. 5, 93 - Nov. 6, 97. Nos. 611 - 614.
Towle, Samuel, 5 letters, April 28, 97 - Oct. 11, 98. Nos. 615 - 619.
Traneker, George, 1 letter, March 8, 56. No. 620.
Trautwein, John William, 1 letter, Dec. 17, 88. No. 621.
Turnbull, William, 1 letter, July, 25, 86. No. 622.
Wagner, John George, 1 letter, Aug. 25, 79. No. 623.
Washington, George, 2 letters, March 28, 78 and May 2, 88. Nos. 624 and 625.
von Watteville, John, 10 letters, March 12, 45 - Dec. 21, 68. Nos. 626 - 635.
Weiss, Jonas Paulus, 8 letters, May 15, 55 - June 23, 74. Nos. 636 - 643.
Weiss, Lewis, 2 letters, July 9, 78 (to Ettwein?) and Oct. 20, 78. Nos. 644 and 645.
Wessels, James, 1 letter, Feb. 4, 88. No. 646.
(White, James, see No. 1403).
Wilcock, John, Jr., 2 letters, June 28, 91 and July 20, 91. Nos. 647 and 648.
Williard, Joseph et al., 1 letter, June 24, 90. No. 649.
Wollin, J. G., 46 letters, March 4, 69 - Aug. 1, 92. Nos. 650 - 695.
Wollin, J. L., 10 letters, Oct. 3, 92 - Nov. 14, 96. Nos. 696 - 705.

Wood, James, 1 letter, Nov. 22, 80. No. 706.
Woodford, William, 5 letters, Oct. 15, 77 - Sept. 29, 78. Nos. 707 - 711.
Youngberg, J. N., 1 letter, April 17, 92. No. 712.
Zeisberger, David, 65 letters, Feb. 24, 69 - Nov. 12, 1801. Nos. 713 - 778.
Zeisberger, David, Jr., 3 letters, Oct. 6 (73) - (99). Nos. 779 - 781.
Zicklein, J. J., 1 letter, April 4 ,60. No. 782.
Letters without signature, two, July 30, 92 and undated. Nos. 783 and 784.

B. Letters written by Ettwein

Anders, Benjamin, 1 letter, March 5, 93. No. 785.
Anderson, John, 1 letter, Nov. 76. No. 1061a.
Angermann, John, 1 letter, (73?). No. 790a.
Austin, David, 1 letter, Oct. 9, 94. No. 122b.
Bagge (?), Lawrence, 1 letter, (Oct. 11, 82). No. 791a.
Bayard, Col. (Stephen?), 1 letter, May 78. No. 786.
Beck, A., 1 letter, March 8, 91. No. 787.
Bell, William, 3 letters, Aug. 26, 86 - May 8, 90. Nos. 124a, 998a, 788.
Benade, (Andrew?), 1 letter, May 30, 94. No. 789.
Benezet, Anthony, 1 letter, April 84, No. 128a.
Bennet, "Sister", 1 letter, Nov. 5, 73. No. 790.
Benzien, Ch. Lewis, 1 letter, Oct. 11, 82. No. 791.
Bethlehem Board, 3 letters, Dec. 10, 81 - Feb. 28, 89. Nos. 792 - 794.
Biddle, Clement, 1 letter, (95). No. 795.
Birkby, James, 3 letters, Sept. 3, 93 - Sept. 8, 98 and undated. Nos. 796 - 798.
Böhler, Lewis, 4 letters, Aug. 29, 91 and undated. Nos. 799 - 802.
Böhler, Peter, 1 letter, (Oct. 74?). No. 818b.
Boller, W., 1 letter, undated. No. 803.
von Brocke, J. H., 1 letter, March 23, 93. No. 141a.
Brodhead, Daniel, 1 letter, Oct. 10, 81 (2 copies). Nos. 804 and 805. (See also No. 1432a).
Bryan, George, 1 letter, Sept. 19, 78. No. 806.
Butler, Richard, 2 letters, March 12, 87 and undated. Nos. 807 and 808. (See also Nos. 1404a, 1420.)
Croghan, George, 2 letters, (70?) and (71?). Nos. 809 and 810.
(Dayton, Jonathan, see No. 1436).
Detmers, Ferdinand Ph. J., 3 letters, undated. Nos. 811 - 813.
Drinker, Henry, 1 letter, Aug. 27, 91. No. 155a.
Drinker and James, 2 letters (with enclosure), (72) and (73). No. 814 - 816.
Duvernoy, Christopher, 1 letter, Feb. 4., 91. No. 817.
Erd, E., 1 letter, (92). No. 827a.
Ettwein, Anna Benigna, 2 letters, Oct. 21, 74 and (83?). Nos. 818 and 1100b.
Ettwein, Gottlieb, 1 letter, April 6, 98. No. 819.
Ettwein, Jacob, 1 letter, Feb. 1 (98). No. 820.
Eyerly (Eyerle), Jacob, Jr., 1 letter, (Jan. 91) No. 191a. (See also No. 1444).
Faulkner, Robert et al., 1 letter, June 5, 92. No. 821.
Franklin, Benjamin, 1 letter, Feb. 16, 88. No. 822.
Franks, (?), 1 letter, Jan. 4, 94. No. 823.
Friis, Jacob, 1 letter, (78?). No. 824.
Frühauf, Frederick R., 2 letters, undated, Nos. 825 and 826.
Gallatin, Albert, 1 letter, May 17, 96. No. 201a.
Gambs, "Brother", 1 letter, (92). No. 827.
Gardiner, John, 1 letter, Jan. 15, 84. No. 828.

(Gardiner, S. W.), 1 letter, (Feb. 4, 69). No. 829.
Garrison, (Johanna), 1 letter, May 24, 95. No. 830.
Gates, Horatio, 3 letters, July 14, 77 - (March 78). Nos. 207a, 831 and 832.
Gibson, John, 1 letter, undated. No. 1217b.
Giering, Andrew, 2 letters, (April 78?). Nos. 833 and 834.
Goodrich, Elizur, 1 letter, (March 1800?). No. 1195a.
Governing Board:
Directorium, 15 letters, (66) - Sept. 23, 69. Nos. 835 - 846 and 838a.
Unitäts Aeltesten Conferenz—36 letters, Dec. 17, 70 - April 18, 91 and undated, Nos. 847 - 881 and 1089a.
Unitäts Aeltesten Conferenz—Missions Department, 1 letter, May 20, 83. No. 882.
Unitäts Vorsteher Collegium, 5 letters, April 8, 67 - (Dec. 85). Nos. 883 - 887.
Graceham congregation, 1 letter, (91). No. 888.
Graff, John Michael, 1 letter, Nov. 14, 78. No. 889.
Green, J., 1 letter, undated. No. 890.
Gregor, (Christian Frederick), 47 letters, March 12, 68 - Oct. 12 (99). Nos. 891 - 932 and 897a, 150a, 916a, 922a, 982a.
Gregor and Loretz, 1 letter, Feb. 7, 78. No. 1169a.
(Griffin, Cyrus, see No. 1415.)
Guest, W., 1 letter, (95?). No. 1199a.
H., J., 1 letter, (Feb. 97?). No. 206a.
Hammerer, John Daniel, 1 letter, June 13, 66. No. 933.
(Hand, General, see No. 1391).
(Hartley, Thomas, see No. 1432 and 1433a.)
Heckewälder, Christian, 2 letters, Dec. 19, 91 and June 20, 93. Nos. 934 and 935.
Heckewälder, John, 3 letters, (Jan. 98?) - Sept. 16, 98. Nos. 936 - 938.
Heckewälder, John and Eyerley, 2 letters, April 94 and June 6, 94. Nos. 939 and 940.
(Hehl), Matthew, 1 letter, (78). No. 941.
Hehl and Nathanael Seidel, 1 letter, Aug. 12, 72. No. 942.
Hiester, Daniel, 2 letters, Nov. 10, 92 and (Dec. 91). Nos. 943 and 944. (See also No. 1424).
Henry, William, 3 letters (78?) - (84?). Nos. 945 - 947. (see also No. 1393).
von Hohenthal, Count Peter, 4 letters (April 89?) - (93). Nos. 948 278a, 280a, 1185a.
Hooper, (Robert L.), (Oct. 77?). No. 949.
Hope, Church Committee, 1 letter, March 11, 77. No. 950.
Hope congregation, 1 letter (88?). No. 951.
Hopson, John, 3 letters, June 23, 91 and undated. Nos. 952 - 954.
Howel, Samson, 1 letter (81). No. 69a.
Hübner, Andrew, 8 letters, (May 82) - Oct. 14, 98 and undated Nos. 955 - 960 and 1144a, 797a.
Huntington, General, 1 letter, Sept. 10, 95. No. 961.
(Hutchins, Thomas, see No. 1412).
Hüter, Christian, 1 letter, July 29, 91. No. 962.
Indians, Christians at Fairfield, 1 letter, April 24, 98. No. 963.
Indians, Christians at Gnadenhütten, Ohio, 2 letters, 74 and (77). Nos. 964 and 965.
Indians, Christians at New Gnadenhütten, 1 letter, May 83. No. 966.
Indians, Delawares and their allies, 1 letter, undated. No. 967.
Indians in Schechschiquannunk, 1 letter (68). No. 968.
Jacobsen, John, 1 letter, July 1, 98. No. 969.

Jefferson, Thomas, 1 letter, Nov. 19, 91. No. 970. (See also No. 1423).
Jones, Mary, 1 letter, (85?). No. 971.
Keim, (?), 1 letter, Nov. 19, 69. 972.
Kensey, I., 1 letter, Nov. 15, 91. No. 973.
Kingsbury, members in, 1 letter, (73?). No. 1059a.
Kirkland, Samuel, 1 letter, Oct. 92. No. 974.
(Knox, Major General, see No. 1417.)
Klingsohr, (John A.), 1 letter, Sept. 19, 93. No. 975.
Köber, (John Frederick), 1 letter, (March 83). No. 1100a.
Kohler, John, 1 letter, (Oct. 74) No. 818a.
Köstlein, H., 1 letter, (88?). No. 976.
Krause, Henry, 1 letter, June 10, 95. No. 977.
Kunzie, (John Christopher Kunze), 2 letters, Oct. 3, 94 and (95?). Nos. 978 and 979.
La Trobe, Benjamin, 3 letters, (75) - Oct. 95. Nos. 980, 981, 859a.
La Trobe, Benjamin and Thomas Moore, 1 letter (98). No. 982.
Laurens, Henry, 17 letters, Feb. 63 - Aug. 27, 91. Nos. 983 - 997 and 832a, 1520a.
Laurens, Henry, Jr., 2 letters, July 10, 90 and (93). Nos. 352a, 998.
Laurens, John, 1 letter, (Dec. 78). No. 343a.
Layritz, (Paul Eugene), 6 letters, Dec. 17, 70 - (March 76?). Nos. 999 - 1003 and 848a.
Lee, Arthur, 1 letter, undated. No. 1004.
Leibert, (?), 1 letter, undated. No. 1005.
Leinbach, "Brother", 1 letter, (98?). No. 1006.
Leth, J. J., 1 letter, March 96. No. 365a.
Levers, (Robert), 2 letters, May 28, 78 and (78). Nos. 1007 and 366a.
Lewis, "Sister", 1 letter, June 4, 94. No. 1008.
Lindenmeyer, "Brother", 1 letter, undated. No. 1009.
Linn, (?). 1 letter, undated. No. 1010.
Linn, William, 2 letters, March 3, 98 (two drafts) and May 17 (98?). Nos. 1011 - 1013.
Liti(t)z, board at, 1 letter, Feb. 76. No. 1014.
Liti(t)z, Board of Elders at, 1 letter, June 22, 92. No. 1015.
Livingston, Walter, 1 letter, June 3, 93. No. 369a.
Loretz, John, 2 letters, (81?) and July 20, 82. No. 892a and 1016.
Lucius, (John Frederick), 1 letter, (Jan. 72). No. 850a.
von Marschall, Frederick, 8 letters, Oct. 1, 68 - Sept. 8, 98. Nos. 1017 1022 and 395a, 791b.
(Martin, Alexander, see No. 1438).
Meder, John, 2 letters, Jan. 95 and undated. Nos. 1023 and 1024.
Meder, John et al., 1 letter, Feb. 16, 89. No. 1025.
Membership, four circular letters, (77?) - (98?). Nos. 1026 - 1028 and 1190a.
Mifflin, Thomas, 9 letters, (88?) - May 2, 95 and undated. Nos. 1029 - 1036 and No. 1181a. (See also No. 1386a).
Miller, Peter, 3 letters, undated. No. 1037 - 1039.
Missionaries among the Indians, 19 letters, (71?) - Sept. 24, 1801. Nos. 1040 - 1056, 866a and 536a.
Missionaries in Barbadoes, 1 letter, (June 73). No. 1057a.
Missionaries in Jamaica, 1 letter, June 13, 73. No. 1057.
Möhring, (Frederick), 1 letter, (Sept. 93?). No. 796a.
(Moore), J., 1 letter, undated. No. 1058.
(Moore), Jonathan et al., 1 letter, (73?). No. 1059.
Moore, Thomas, 1 letter, undated. No. 1060.
Morgan, George, 1 letter, (Nov. 76). No. 1061.
Morris, Governor, 1 letter, (June 78). No. 1062.

Mortimer, Benjamin, 1 letter, (98?). No. 1063.
Mühlenberg, Fr. A., 2 letters, (85?) and (92?). Nos. 1064 and 1065.
Mumford, (C.), 1 letter, May 26, 95. No. 1066.
Nazareth congregation, 1 letter, (78?). No. 1067.
Nazareth, Board of Elders, 2 letters, March 4, 93 and undated. Nos 1068 and 1069.
Nazareth, Board of Trustees, 1 letter, April 16, 93. No. 1070.
N. Y. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Piety, 2 letters, undated. Nos. 1071 and 1072. (See also No. 1163.)
Nitschmann, Chr. David, 1 letter, Nov. 15, 72. No. 1073.
Nitschmann, David ("The Syndic"), 1 letter, undated, No. 1074.
Ogden, Uzal, 1 letter, Jan. 14, 98. No. 1075.
Okely, John, 5 letters, (Oct. 77?) - Aug. 1, 88 and undated. Nos. 1076 - 1079 and 1544a.
Penn, (John?), 1 letter, (68?). No. 1080.
Peter, "Brother", 2 letters, April 30, 91 and (95?). Nos. 1081 and 979a.
Philadelphia congregation, 1 letter, June 11, 88. No. 1082.
(Pickering, Timothy, see No. 1439.)
(Putnam, Rufus, see No. 1445.)
Quandt, "Brother", 1 letter, (April 30, 84) No. 894b.
von Rantzau, (Eric), 1 letter, May 5, 92. No. 1083.
(Reed, Joseph?), 1 letter, May 7, 79. No. 1084.
Reich, "Brother", 1 letter Dec. 13, 90. No. 1085.
Reichenbach, William, 1 letter, (87?). No. 1086.
Reichel, John Frederick, 39 letters, (Dec. 17, 70) - Oct. 99. Nos. 1087 - 1119 and 999a, 1002a, 894a, 923a, 925a, 932a, 498a.
Reincke, Abraham, 1 letter, Feb. 5, 99. No. 1120.
Reincke, "Brother and Sister", 1 letter, Oct. 4, 94. No. 1121.
Rogers, (Jacob), 1 letter, Sept. 28, 52. No. 1122.
Roth(e), John, 1 letter, Oct. 94. No. 1123.
Russmeyer, "Brother and Sister", 1 letter, Sept. 8, 83. No. 1124.
Salem, board at, 1 letter, (98?). No. 1125.
Sch. (Schaukirch?), "Sister", 1 letter, July 20, 92. No. 1126.
Schaukirch (also Shewkirk), A. G., 4 letters, (Nov. 82) - Jan. 4, 83. Nos. 1127, 1128, 1099a, 1128a.
(Schaukirk?), Anna, 1 letter, undated. No. 1229a.
Schmidt, John, 3 letters, Aug. 13 (88) - Dec. 1, 94. Nos. 1129 - 1131.
Schmuz, "Brother", 1 letter, Dec. 1, 92. No. 1132.
Schneller, "Brother", 1 letter, undated. No. 1133.
Schrober, Samuel, 1 letter, June 1, 92. No. 1550a.
Schropp, John, 2 letters, Nov. 15, 93 and (March 1801?). Nos. 1134 and 1135.
von Schweini(t)z, H. Chr. A., 9 letters, May 98 - Oct. 17, 99. Nos. 1136 - 1142 and 929a, 982b.
Schweisshaupt, John, 1 letter, undated. No. 1143.
(Seidel), Anna Johanna, 1 letter, May 19, 82. No. 1144.
Seidel, Nathanael, 9 letters, May 24, 72 - May 5, 82. Nos. 1145 - 1153
Shellogg, Ebenezer, 1 letter (in two drafts), Sept. 15, 1801. Nos. 1154 and 1155.
Shippen, William, Jr., 2 letters, Dec. 19, 77 and May 4, 94. Nos. 1156 and 582a.
Shoemaker, Jacob, John Arndt, and Sillymann, 1 letter, (78). No. 1156.
Siegfried, Catharina, 1 letter, Oct. 25, 97. No. 1157.
Sinclair, (St. Clair), Arthur, 2 letters, undated. Nos. 1158 and 1217a. (See also No. 1440.)
Smith, William, 3 letters, July 4, 91 - Aug. 18, 94. Nos. 1159 - 1161.

Society for Furtherance of the Gospel (London), 1 letter, Oct. 10, 95. No. 1162.
Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and Piety at New York, 1 letter, (95?). No. 1163. (See also Nos. 1071 and 1072.)
Spangenberg, A. G., 9 letters, Aug. 12, 54 - (91). Nos. 1164 - 1171 and 1231a
Stanford, John, 1 letter, (97). No. 1172.
Staten Island congregation, 1 letter, undated. No. 1173.
Sternberg, Martin, 8 letters, Feb. 4, 91 - Sept. 2, 97. Nos. 1174 - 1180 and 1113a.
Stiles, Ezra, 2 letters, June 24, 93 and Aug. 3, 93. Nos. 1181 and 1182.
Stobwasser, John Henry, 1 letter, April 20, 91. No. 1183.
Stötin, J., 1 letter, Jan. 30, 95. No. 1184.
Strahlin, John, 2 letters, (92) and (98). Nos. 1185 and 819a.
Strohle, (John Lewis), 1 letter, undated. No. 826a.
Sydrich, "Sister", 1 letter, Sept. 6, 91. No. 955a.
Tenbrook, Henry, 1 letter, Dec. 21, 98. No. 1186.
Thomson, Charles, 6 letters,, May 12, 84 - July 18, 87 and undated. Nos. 1187 - 1189 and 1623a, 1190a, 1058a. (See also Nos. 1386, 1390a, 1394, 1399, 1404b, 1394a, 1416).
Thorp(e), (Edward), 1 letter, (June 78). No. 610a.
Thurnbul, (?), 1 letter, undated. No. 1190.
Tillofsen, Nils, 3 letters, (June 92) and undated. Nos. 1191, 1192, and 821a.
Tippet, Mary, 1 letter, (Oct. 98?). No. 950a.
Towle, Sam, 1 letter, Sept. 21, 98. No. 1193.
Trumbull, Benjamin, 3 letters, March 93 - May 16, 1801. Nos. 1194 - 1196.
Tulpehocken, the Lutheran pastor in, 1 letter, (90). No. 1197.
Turner, James, 1 letter, Feb. 64. No. 1198.
Vannemann, Andrew, 2 letters, (93?) and (94?). Nos. 1199 and 1200
Vetter, Susel, 1 letter, undated. No. 1201.
Wachovia, board in, 1 letter, (77?). No. 1202.
Washington, George, 3 letters, March 25, 78 (two copies) and March 28, 88 and (93). Nos. 1203 - 1206.
von Watteville, Frederick R., 5 letters, May 1, 78 - May 21, 80. Nos. 1207 - 1216.
von Watteville, John, 7 letters, (68?) - April 30, 88 and undated. Nos. 1212 - 1216 and 1169b, 1214a.
Wayne, Anthony, 1 letter, undated. No. 1217.
Weiss, Jonas Paulus, 1 letter, May 78. No. 1218.
Weiss, Lewis, 5 letters, Oct. 1, 78 - (93?) and undated. Nos. 1219 - 1222 and 1298a.
Weiss, M., 1 letter, April 6, 95. No. 1223.
(White, James, see No. 1404).
Wichmann, "Brother", 1 letter, undated. No. 1224.
Wied, John, 3 letters, May 5, 92 - Aug. 24, 93. Nos. 1225 - 1227.
Wollin, J. G., 9 letters, July 16, 71 - Feb. 26, 92. Nos. 1228 - 1231 and 658a, 895a, 1215a, 684a, 692a.
Wollin, J. L., 4 letters, Feb. 2, 93 - May 29, 97. Nos. 1232 - 1235.
Woodford, Catesby, 1 letter, undated. No. 1236.
Woolwich congregation, 1 letter, Oct. 10, 95. No. 1237.
Wyoming congregation, 1 letter, undated. No. 1192a.
Yarrell, (Thomas), 1 letter, (July 85?). No. 1170a.
Youngberg, (John), 1 letter, Oct. 3, 93. No. 1238.
Zeisberger, David, 13 letters, Oct. 9, 69 - Dec. 21, 98 and undated, Nos. 1239 - 1250 and 804a.
Zeisberger, David et al., 9 letters, (74?) - April 15, 97 and undated. Nos. 1251 - 1258 and 1043a.

Zeisberger, David, Jr., 2 letters, Feb. 13, 78 and Oct. 22, 97. Nos. 1169a and 1259.
Zeist, church council at, 1 letter, (71?). No. 1260.
Eleven letters without the names of the recipients, May 22, 82 - Aug. 4, 92 and undated. Nos. 1261 - 1270 and 897a.

V. Sundry Papers

Selected sermons by Moravian leaders in Europe, June 44 - Aug. 55, copied by Ettwein. No. 1271.
Sundry memoranda, Aug. 29 - Sept. 8, 72. No. 1272.
Memorandum concerning the war of 76. No. 1273.
Record of the Carr incident. No. 1274.
Petition to the Board of War, Sept. 3, 77. No. 1275.
Draft of a statement to be made by Jersey Moravians in refusing to abjure the king. No. 1276.
Form of petition for use of Jersey Moravians in refusing military service. No. 1277.
Another draft of No. 1277. No. 1278.
Provisions of the militia law of 77 with Ettwein's comments. No. 1279.
Additional comments of the militia law. No. 1280.
Fragment containing questions relating to freedom of conscience. No. 1281.
Notes on the subject of freedom of conscience. No. 1282.
Memorandum concerning freedom of conscience, etc. No. 1283.
A prayer for the preservation of true liberty. No. 1284.
Ettwein's notes on an article from the Evening Post, Sept. 28, 76. No. 1285.
Reasons impelling Moravians to refuse to take the oath of abjuration. No. 1286.
Ettwein's statement of his reasons for opposing the militia act. No. 1156a.
Questions for discussion by the Bethlehem board. No. 1287.
Communication of the decision of the board to Lititz congregation (?). No. 1288.
Draft of petition to the Penn'a Assembly (May 78). No. 1289.
Petition to the Penn'a Assembly (May 78), a German translation. No. 1290.
Ettwein's notes on his experiences in York and Lancaster, 78. No. 1291.
Ettwein's notes on his experiences in Lancaster, 78. No. 1292.
Copy of Ettwein's appeal to the Penn'a Executive Council, May 78. No. 1300a.
Ettwein's rebuttal of reasons advanced by the Penn'a General Assembly for its refusal to grant the petition of the Moravians. No. 1293.
Memorandum regarding the committment of the Emmaus Moravians. No. 1294.
Another memorandum concerning the committment of the Emmaus Moravians. No. 1295.
Comments on the trial of the Emmaus Moravians. No. 1296.
Protest against the manner of executing the militia law in Northampton Co. No. 1297.
Copy of the petition of Oct. 78. No. 1298.
Copy of the petition of Oct. 78, signed by Ettwein. No. 1299.
Copy of the petition of Oct. 78, with signatures affixed by Ettwein. No. 1300.
Five copies of the petition of Oct. 78, with different sets of signatures. No. 1301.
Ettwein's notes on his experiences in Philadelphia, Oct. 79. No. 1302.

Description of medallion planned in celebration of the conclusion of peace. No. 1284a.
Notes for diary purposes. No. 1253a.
Copy of J. F. Reichel's circular on the completion of his visitation in America. No. 1303.
An English translation of Reichel's circular. No. 1304.
Notes concerning planned revision of the Bethlehem Diary. No. 1305.
Notes concerning the organization of the Board of Trustees. No. 1306.
Rules concerning the collection of contributions for Church causes. No. 1307.
Suggestion that Bethlehem congregation become responsible for the deficit in the account of the Single Brethren's Choir. No. 1308.
Articles of agreement concerning the establishment of a brewery. No. 1309.
Proposal for the erection of a flour mill in Bethlehem. No. 1310.
Statement of objections to a bridge for Bethlehem. No. 1311.
Statement of objections to a bridge for Bethlehem, Dec. 21, 91. No. 1312.
Arguments against building a bridge over the Lehigh. No. 1313.
Data regarding walls enclosing the cemetery. No. 971b.
Proposal to regulate fishing in the Manocacy at Bethlehem. No. 1314.
Memorandum concerning need for a justice of the peace at Bethlehem. No. 1315.
Statement regarding Chas. Heckewälder's plan to open a store at Bethlehem. No. 1316.
Catalogue of the inhabitants of Christiansbrunn, Oct. 7, 93. No. 1317.
Report on Graceham and the congregations in the Lititz district, 88. No. 1318.
List of members, etc., in the Jacobi Church, Warwick (85?). No. 1319.
Memorandum concerning the land at Lititz (85?). No. 1320.
Notes on the condition of Lititz and the adjoining congregations. No. 1321.
List of baptisms, etc., in Oldman's Creek, 42 - 94. No. 1322 - 24.
Circular letter appealing for aid in the erection of a new church at Oldman's Creek. No. 1190b.
Memorandum concerning Oldman's Creek, 94. No. 1325.
Statement opposing the plan for making a township of Nazareth and Christiansbrunn. No. 1326.
Fragment of a legal document concerning Wachovia land. No. 1329a.
Notes concerning von Marschall's dispute with North Carolina authorities about the Mulberry land. No. 1327.
Notes concerning Cossard's land in Wachovia. No. 1328.
Notes concerning the selection of trustees for Wachovia in the event of von Marschall's death (82?). No. 1329.
Another draft of No. 1329. No. 1330.
List of pensioners of the Unity. No. 1331.
Report on the status of Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Hope, 88. No. 1332.
General report of the Church in Pennsylvania and neighboring States, 88. No. 1333.
Proposals for securing Brethren for the service of the Church in America. No. 1334.
Memorandum given von Schweinitz for transmission (in 97?). No. 1335.
Memoranda given Bishop Seidel (for the synod of 69?). No. 1336.
Notes on the resolutions of General Synod, 69. No. 1337.
Report of the resolutions of General Synod, 69, and of measures taken in Bethlehem in accordance with them. No. 1338.
Notes, probably in connection with General Synod, 89. No. 1339.
Plan of the seating of members in General Synod, 89. No. 1340.

Statistics of the Moravian congregations in Germany (Synod of 89?). No. 1341.
Queries by American delegates to General Synod (89). No. 1342.
Notes on the conditions of the Single Brethren's Choirs in America, (89?). No. 1343.
Matters for presentation to the American synodical committee from Pennsylvania, (90?). No. 1344.
List of articles dispatched to Myn Heer Joannes Schmidt in Amsterdam. No. 1109a.
Notes on congregational life, preparatory to the synod of 90. No. 1345.
Notes on events, 93-95. No. 1346.
Memorandum from Bishop Gregor concerning reports from America, Nov. 16, 94. No. 1347.
Statistics of the West Indian mission for 95. No. 1348.
Memorandum concerning church property in St. Thomas, March 10, 91. No. 1349.
Memorandum of John Penn's charge against Moravian missions. No. 1350.
Memorandum for journey among Mohicans (72?). No. 1351.
Message of the Wyalusing Indians to Chief Achgohunt. No. 1352.
List of Indians sharing the gift of the Quakers (72?). No. 814a.
Suggestions for a petition to the King of England concerning land of the Christian Delawares in Ohio. (75?) No. 980a.
Memorandum concerning care on the part of the missionaries in referring to political events. No. 1353.
Baptisms, marriages, deaths, etc., of Indians at Wyalusing, 65-71. No. 1354.
Notes on accessions among the Christian Indians. No. 1355.
Accessions among the Christian Indians (89?). No. 1356.
Ettwein's observations, Jan. 4, 98, relative to J. Heckewälder's essay on the Indian mission, Dec. 26, 97. No. 1357.
Disbursements of S.P.G. since 82. No. 1358.
Expenses of the Indian mission, 81-97. No. 1359.
Itemized account of damages suffered by the Christian Indians and their missionaries in Ohio. No. 1360.
Statement of the losses of Christian Indians and missionaries in Ohio. No. 1361.
Jungmann's list of losses at Schönbrunn. No. 1362.
Ettwein's estimate of losses by the mission. No. 1363.
Draft of appeal to the American Moravian Church on behalf of the Indian mission. No. 1364.
List of items bought for the Indian congregation in 90. No. 1365.
Address to heathen Indians, 89. No. 1366.
Proposal to search for Welsh Indians. No. 1367.
Phrasebook Delaware-German. No. 1368.
Draft of dedication of the Indian hymnal. No. 1369.
Map of Schönbrunn. No. 1370.
Map of Schönbrunn. No. 1371.
Map of Friedenshütten at the Susquehanna. No. 1372.
Proposal for the establishment of the S. P. G. No. 1373.
Relation of S. P. G. to Governing Board (89). No. 1374.
Petition to New Jersey Assembly for incorporation of S. P. G. (91). No. 1375.
Petition to New York Assembly for incorporation of S. P. G., Sept. 96. No. 1376.
Copy of letter from S. P. G. to Washington, July 10, 89. No. 1377.
Letter from Washington to S. P. G., (Aug. 89). No. 1378.

Proposal to place titles to all church property in name of S. P. G. No. 1379.
Notes on advantages of having a corporation hold titles to church property. No. 1380.
Proposal to transfer all church titles to S. P. G. No. 1381.
Agenda for meeting of S. P. G., 93. No. 1382.
Report to S. P. G., Aug. 21, 97. No. 1383.
Documents in the Muskingum Tract collection. Nos. 1384 - 1449.

No. 1384 Index of documents in the Muskingum Tract collection.
No. 1385 First draft of memorial of John Ettwein, Andrew Hübner, and Hans Christian de Schweinitz to U. S. Congress, Oct. 28, 83.
No. 1385a Copy of No. 1385.
No. 1386 Letter, John Ettwein to Charles Thomson, March 4, 84.
No. 1386a Letter, John Ettwein to Thomas Mifflin, March 5, 84.
No. 1387 Letter, Charles Thomson to Ettwein, April 7, 84.
No. 1388 Letter, Charles Thompson to Ettwein, April 18, 84.
No. 1389 Resolution of U. S. Congress, April 23, 84.
No. 1390 Petition of John Ettwein, Andrew Hübner, and Hans Christian de Schweinitz to Congress, May 12, 84.
No. 1390a Letter, Ettwein to Charles Thomson, May 12, 84.
No. 1391 Letter, Ettwein to General Hand, May 12, 84.
No. 1392 Letter, William Henry to Ettwein, Feb. 14, 85.
No. 1393 Letter, Ettwein to William Henry, March 22, 85.
No. 1394 Letter, Ettwein to William (Charles?) Thomson, Aug. 1, 86.
No. 1394a Letter, Ettwein to Charles Thomson, July 18, 87.
No. 1395 Ordinance of Congress, Aug. 7, 86.
No. 1396 Resolution of Congress, Aug. 24, 86.
No. 1397 Copy of 1396, minus preamble.
No. 1398 Letter, Charles Thomson to Ettwein, Aug. 26, 86.
No. 1399 Letter, Ettwein to Charles Thomson, Sept. 18, 86.
No. 1400 Letter, Charles Thomson to Ettwein, Oct. 9, 86.
No. 1401 Letter, Charles Thomson to Ettwein, Oct. 13, 86.
No. 1402 Letter, Richard Butler to Ettwein, Oct. 18, 86.
No. 1403 Letter, James White to Ettwein, Oct. 18, 86.
No. 1404 Letter, Ettwein to James White, Nov. 4, 86.
No. 1404a Letter, Ettwein to Richard Butler, Nov. 4, 86.
No. 1404b Letter, Ettwein to Charles Thomson, Nov. 4, 86.
No. 1405 Letter, Charles Thomson to Ettwein, Dec. 4, 86.
No. 1406 Ordinance of Congress, July 27, 87.
No. 1407 Letter, Charles Thomson to Ettwein, Aug. 15, 87.
No. 1408 Ettwein's record of a conference of the U. S. Board of the Treasury with Ettwein and Heckewälder, Oct. 5, 87.
No. 1409 Memorandum by Ettwein concerning his conference with the Board of the Treasury and his subsequent activities.
No. 1410 Letter, James Birkby to Ettwein, May 22, 88.
No. 1411 Letter, James Birkby to Ettwein, Aug. 13, 88.
No. 1412 Letter, Ettwein to Thomas Hutchins, Aug. 22, 88.
No. 1413 Letter, Andrew Hübner to Thomas Hutchins, Aug. 24, 88.
No. 1414 Letter, Thomas Hutchins to Ettwein, Aug. 25, 88.
No. 1415 First draft of petition by John Ettwein to Cyrus Griffin, Aug. 29, 88.
No. 1416 Letter, Ettwein to Charles Thomson, Aug. 29, 88.
No. 1417 Letter, Ettwein to Major General Knox, Aug. 29, 88.
No. 1418 Ordinance of Congress, Sept. 3, 88.

No. 1419 Letter, James Birkby to Ettwein, Sept. 4, 88.
No. 1420 Letter, Ettwein to Brig. General Richard Butler, April 2, 91.
No. 1421 Report of Thomas Jefferson to Congress, Nov. 8, 91.
No. 1422 Letter, Daniel Hiester, Jr., to Ettwein, Nov. 16, 91.
No. 1423 Letter, Ettwein to Thomas Jefferson, Nov. 19, 91.
No. 1424 Letter, Ettwein to Daniel Hiester, Jr., Nov. 19, 91.
No. 1425 Letter, Daniel Hiester, Jr., to Ettwein, Nov. 23, 91.
No. 1426 Memorial and petition by S. P. G. to Congress, Dec. 2, 91. (first draft).
No. 1427 Memorial and petition by S. P. G. to Congress, Dec. 2, 91. (official copy).
No. 1428 Letter, Ettwein to Congressional Committee on Land-office Bill, Dec. 5, 91.
No. 1429 Letter, Daniel Hiester, Jr., to Ettwein, Nov. 26, 92.
No. 1430 Memorial and petition by S. P. G. to Congress, Jan. 8, 96.
No. 1431 Memorandum by Ettwein for the attention of the committee of Congress considering No. 1430, Jan. 14, 96.
No. 1432 Letter, Ettwein to Thomas Hartley, Jan. 14, 96.
No. 1432a Letter, Ettwein to Col. Brodhead, undated, (96).
No. 1433 Excerpt from letter, Ettwein to the Congressional Committee on Landoffice Bill, Budenot, White, and Williamson, Jan. 14, 96.
No. 1433a Excerpt Letter, Ettwein to Thomas Hartley, Jan. 14, 96.
No. 1433b Excerpt letter, Ettwein to Speaker Dayton, Feb. 5, 96.
No. 1434 A note for the Congressional Committee, Jan. 96.
No. 1435 A brief account of the Christian Indians formerly settled on the Muskingum River, Jan. 22, 96.
No. 1436 Letter, Ettwein to Jonathan Dayton, Feb. 5, 96.
No. 1437 Act of Congress, June 1, 96.
No. 1438 Letter, Ettwein to Alexander Martin, June 4, 96.
No. 1439 Letter, Ettwein to Timothy Pickering, March 11, 97.
No. 1440 Letter, Ettwein to Arthur St. Clair, April 17, 97.
No. 1441 Ettwein's account of the circumstances under which Congress granted the Muskingum Tract to S. P. G., April 29, 99.
No. 1442 Copy of No. 1441, with slight alterations.
No. 1443 Concise historical account of the three Indian towns, Schönbrunn, Gnadenhütten, and Salem on the Muskingum River, undated.
No. 1444 Letter, Ettwein to Jacob Eyerle, undated.
No. 1445 Letter, Ettwein to Rufus Putnam, undated.
No. 1446 Statement of accounts concerning the Muskingum River Tract, May 30, 85 - Aug. 20, 1812.
No. 1447 Names of tenants on the Gnadenhütten and Schönbrunn tracts with details regarding the holdings of each, undated.
No. 1448 Fragments of documents relative to the Muskingum Tract.
No. 1449 Letter, N. B. Hurr to Paul de Schweinitz, Jan. 12, 1912.
Petition to U. S. Congress for land in Ohio, Oct. 28, 83. No. 1450.
Supplement to ordinance of U. S. Congress, July 9, 88. No. 1451.
Ettwein's memorandum concerning the above. No. 1451a.
Draft of petition to Congress, Dec. 2, 91. No. 1452.
Draft of instructions for J. Heckewälder, April 24, 98. No. 1453.
Draft of instructions for J. Heckewälder and Wm. Henry, undated. No. 1454.
Final instructions for J. Heckewälder, April 17, 99. No. 1455.

Conference of directors of S. P. G. with J. Heckewälder and Wm. Henry. No. 1383a.
Proposal for settlement on the Muskingum. No. 1456.
Plans for the management of the Ohio land. No. 1457.
Another draft of plans for the management of the Ohio land. No. 1458.
Statement regarding origin and purpose of the Ohio land grant. No. 1459.
Note to the Bethlehem board regarding the Ohio land grant. No. 1460.
Plans for the use of the Ohio land. No. 1461.
Suggestions for the use of the Ohio land. No. 1374b.
List of Maryland Methodists applying for Ohio land, April 17, 98. No. 1462.
List of eleven applicants for Ohio land. No. 1462a.
Memorandum regarding expense in securing land in Allegheny County, Penn'a. No. 1463.
Petition of S. P. G. to Penn'a Assembly. No. 1464.
Plan for developmtnt of land on the Conneaught River (95?). No. 1465.
Copy of act granting S. P. G. land in Penn'a, Feb. 15, 91, with Ettwein's comment. No. 1466.
Address to Congress. No. 1467.
Sketches showing land on Lake Erie. No. 1468.
Certificate for the Rev. and Mrs. Nathanael Brown. No. 1469.
Official certificate attesting Ettwein to be bishop of the Moravian Church and president of S. P. G., issued by Thos. Mifflin, Governor of Penn'a, June 6, 96. No. 1470.
Statement concerning Ettwein's preparedness for death. No. 1471.
Description of Ettwein's interview with Alexander Hamilton. No. 1472.
Protest against giving Heckewälder financial aid. No. 1473.
Memorandum concerning request by Mrs. Jones to build in Bethlehem. No. 1474.
Note concerning the application of Mary Jones. No. 297a.
Note concerning Michael Jung's bequest, Sept. 16, 97. No. 1191a.
Order of consecration of Daniel Köhler, May 9, 90. No. 1475.
Characterization of individual missionaries to the Indians (89?). No. 1374a.
Certificate of church membership of Benjamin Mortimer, April 29, 98. No. 1476.
Statement concerning Okely's claim to the Dryland tract in Bethlehem. No. 1477
Account of the J. Okely dispute concerning the Dryland tract. No. 1478.
Certificate to the character of Frederick Post. No. 1479.
Notes concerning the farm, Oct. 25, 70. No. 1480.
Results of milling fifty bushels of wheat. No. 1481.
Percentages to be expected in the cultivation of grain. No. 1482.
Proposal to exchange "The Moravian Swamp" for land in Western Penn'a or Ohio. No. 1483.
Formula to be used in ordinations. No. 1484.
Form of ordination certificate, 99. No. 1485.
Notes on the duties of Christians occupying positions of authority. No. 1486.
Statement of Ettwein's attitude towards Moravians who were active in political parties, April 95. No. 1487.
Suggestions for the discipline of unruly boys. No. 1488.
Reprimand directed to unruly boys. No. 1489.
Recommendation in a case for church discipline. No. 1490.
Notes on preaching, No. 903a.

Lists of the numbers of hymn tunes in the English and German hymnals. No. 1491.
Definitions of measures, weights, and coins in the New Testament. No. 1492.
Various notes, chiefly relating to Bible study. Nos. 1493 and 1494.
Sermon notes. No. 1495 - 1498.
Sundry notes on the cost of journeys, No. 1499.
Notes concerning contents of three packages of mail. No. 1500.
List of articles of interest in *Leipziger Intelligenzblatt.* No. 1501.
Essay on spontaneous combustion. No. 1502.
Notes on imports and exports of England and on national income of various countries, and on standards of measurement in the Bible. No. 1503.
Spirited defense of the government's peaceful policy in dealing with Indians. No. 1504.
Proposal for the retirement of the debt of the U. S. and of individual states. No. 1505.
Form of indenture, John Hopson and Ettwein. No. 1506.
Quit notice for Nathanael Seidel, Oct. 26, 72. No. 1507.
Advertisement for Frederick Böckel. No. 1508.
Notes on the correct manner of writing English. No. 1509.
Notes of a miscellaneous nature. No. 1510.

VI. Poems

Thirty-two poems composed for various occasions. No. 1511.
Poem celebrating the birthday of Lewis von Schweiniz, Feb. 13, 96. No. 1512.
Poem celebrating the birthday of Sr. Rosel Schütz, Oct. 2, 97. No. 1513.
A New Year's poem, undated. No. 1514.
Poem in honor of Frederick von Marschall, undated. No. 1515.
(See also section VIII of this appendix)

VII. Other Documents Relating to this Period

Excerpt, letter, James Adams, Aug. 17, 75. No. 1516.
Copy letter, J. A. (John Arbo) to a Penn'a government official, March 14, 68. No. 1517.
Copy letter, John Arndt to justices, Sept. 8, 78. No. 1518.
Copy letter, C. Brownfield to Okely, Sept. 3, 59. No. 1519.
Copy letter, G. Bryan to Robert Levers, (May 78). No. 1520.
Copy letter, John van Campen to justices, Sept. 7, 78. No. 1521.
Another copy of No. 1521. No. 1518a.
Copy letter, William Enven to James Burnsides, Feb. 28, 60. No. 1519 - 1.
Excerpt letter, Gov. Franklin to General Assembly of New Jersey, (76). No. 1520 - 1.
Copy letter, Andrew Giering to Judge Levers, (June), 78. No. 1521 - 1.
Copy letter, Daniel Hauser to Board of Elders. No. 1522.
Letter, John Heckewälder to G. Haga, June 1, 94. No. 1523.
Excerpts letter, John Heckewälder to Matthew Hehl, April 29, 79. No. 1524.
Excerpts letter, John Heckewälder, July 16, 99. No. 1525.
Letter, Abel James et al. to Papunehang and other Delawares, Aug. 8, 72. No. 1526.
Letter, George Jungmann to Bethlehem congregation, Aug. 21, 69. No. 1527.
Copy letter, J. Kingston to A. G. Spangenberg. No. 1528.
Excerpt letter, H. Laurens, Jr., to Wm. Bell, Feb. 25, 90. No. 127a.

Letter, John Leeth to G. Jungmann, April 23, 92. No. 1529.
Letter, Robert Levers to Nathanael Seidel, Sept. 21, 81. No. 1530.
Letter, Ann Lithgow to Rev. Smith, Oct. 30, 97. No. 1531.
Copy letter, J. J. Lubby to A. G. Spangenberg, March 17, 60. No. 1532.
Copy letter, F. W. von Marschall to H. Laurens, Sept. 20, 91. No. 1533.
Copy letter, F. W. von Marschall to H. Laurens, Jr., April 8, 93. No. 1534.
Letter, J. Meder to Bethlehem board, July 24, 98. No. 1535.
Excerpts letters, missionaries among the Indians, May 85. No. 1536.
Excerpts letters, missionaries among the Indians, June 85. No. 1537.
Excerpts letters, missionaries among the Indians, Aug. 97. No. 1538.
Excerpt letter, Benjamin Mortimer, July 13, 99. No. 1539.
Letter, Benjamin Mortimer to John Heckewälder, June 21, 1822. No. 1540.
Letter Benjamin Mortimer to John Heckewälder, June 26, 1822. (incomplete) No. 1541.
Copy letter, L. Müller to Thrane, July 5, 75. No. 1542.
Copy letter, J. O. to John Okely, Aug. 13, 60. No. 1543.
Letter, John Okely to Nathanael Seidel, Aug. 10, 78. No. 1544.
Letter, John Caspar Oswald to Bethlehem board, May 11, 87. No. 1545.
Copy letter, John Papunham and Joshua to Gov. Penn., (69). No. 1546.
Copy letter, John Papunham to Quakers in Philadelphia, thanking them for gift (March 21, 73). No. 816a.
Letter, Richard Penn to Wyalusing Indians, (72). No. 1547.
Copy letter accompanying Quakers' donation to Wyalusing Indians, (72). No. 1548.
Letter, J. J. Schmick certifying deputies from Christian Indians to John Penn, Feb. 16, 69. No. 1549.
Excerpt letter, Schneller, July 2, 99. No. 1539a.
Letter, Sam Schober to Bethlehem board, June 1, 92. No. 1550.
Copy letter, D. Schuyler to Spangenberg, June 9, 60. No. 1551.
Copy letter, D. Schuyler to Spangenberg, July 31, 60. No. 1552.
Copy letter, D. Schuyler to Haversham, July 24, 60. No. 1553.
Excerpt letter, Charles Schultze, Sept. 4, 77. No. 1554.
Copy letter, H. C. S. (Hans Christian von Schweinitz) to Bethlehem board, March 24, 75. No. 1555.
Copy letter, Nathanael Seidel to Benjamin Franklin, May 75. No. 1556.
Another copy of No. 1556. No. 1557.
Letter, Nathanael Seidel to Governing Board, April 14, 90. No. 1558.
Copy letter, William Shippen, Jr., to Catherine Brownfield, Aug. 23 (?). No. 1559.
Letter, Abraham Steiner to Board in Salem, N. C., March 11, 98. No. 1560
Letter, Abraham Steiner to John Heckewälder, Nov. 14, 97. No. 1561.
Copy letter, Thomas Stephan to Nathanael Seidel, July 15, 77. No. 1562.
Letter, Ezra Stiles to Frederick Smith, Feb. 10, 87. No. 1563.
Excerpts letter, U. E.C., received July 16, 95. No. 1564.
Letter, Lewis Weiss to Nathanael Seidel, April 14, 90. No. 1465
Copy letter, Lewis Weiss to Charles Thomson, April 7, 82. No. 1566.
Letter, John Weisser to Bethlehem board, July 15, 95. No. 1567.
Copy letter, Eleaser Wilcock to Francis Böhler, undated. No. 1568.
Fragment of report, (from Zeisberger?), Dec. 23 - 31 (?). No. 1569.
Copy letter, David Zeisberger, Sept. 30, (75). No. 1570.
Excerpt letter, David Zeisberger, Feb. 26, 76. No. 1571.
Excerpt Zeisberger's report, Sept. 3 - 24, 77. No. 1572.
Excerpt letter, David Zeisberger, (77). No. 1573.
Excerpt letter, David Zeisberger, July 16, 99. No. 1574.

Excerpt letter, Zeisberger to Grube, Jan. 13, 88. No. 1575.
Excerpts letters, Zeisberger and other missionaries, Aug. 28 and 29, 83. No. 1576.
Excerpts letters, Zeisberger and other missionaries, Nov. 10, 90. No. 1577.
Letter, David Ziegler to Bethlehem board, July 15, 95. No. 1578.
Form of power of attorney from Spangenberg. No. 1579.
Copy of power of attorney, Nathanael Seidel to Ettwein et al., 69. No. 1580.
Copy of proposals made by the Governing Board concerning the Church's property in Penn'a, March 24, 68. No. 1581.
Address of welcome and profession of fealty to Richard Penn, Oct. 24, 71. No. 1582.
Minutes of conference in Gnadenhütten on the Mahony, Feb. 10, 73, with sketch of the proposed church and parsonage. No. 1583.
Copy letter, accrediting David Zeisberger, Jr., to General Synod, 75. No. 1584.
Copy of agreements between the Unity and Nazareth congregation concerning the Nazareth land, 72 - 91. No. 1585.
Copy of paragraph from von Marschall's will. No. 1221a.
Declaration by the non-associators of Allen Township, May 20, 75. No. 1586.
Declaration by the non-associators of Forks Township, (75?). No. 1587.
Refusal by Single Brethren of Bethlehem and vicinity to render military service, June 15, 75. No. 1588.
Copy of statement by non-associators submitted to the commissioners of Northampton County, Oct. 19, 76. No. 1589.
Reasons advanced by non-associators in Bethlehem for postponing payment of the militia tax, (Oct. 76?). No. 1589a.
Copy of Gen Howe's proclamation, Nov. 30, 76. No. 1590.
Form of oath required of justices appointed by the Convention. No. 1591.
Excerpt from Test Act. No. 1592.
Copy of act amending "Act for the Better Regulating of the Militia, etc." No. 1593.
Copy of the Oley petition, Sept 77. No. 1594.
Form of summons issued in Bethlehem, Oct. 25, 77. No. 1595.
Notes relative to the advisability of an appeal to Congress, Dec. 17, 77. No. 1596.
Copy of summons issued to Christian Ettwein, Jan. 9, 78. No. 1597.
Memorandum concerning high-handed action by the militia in Gnadenhütten on the Mahony. No. 1598.
Copy of warrant issued by Trexler and Hartman, April 3, 78. No. 1599.
Petition by the Schwenkfelders to the Penn'a General Assembly, (May 78). No. 1600.
Excerpts, minutes of the Penn'a General Assembly, May 78. No. 1601.
Account of proceedings against Mr. Weineke, (June) 78. No. 1602.
Copy of Andrew Giering's appeal to Chief Judge McKeen, June 78. No. 1603.
Copy of summons issued by Justices Morry and Leinbach, Sept. 4, 78. No. 1604.
Another copy of No. 1604. No. 1605.
Copy of Ettwein's acknowledgement of the above summons, No. 1604a.
First draft of the petition presented to the Penn'a General Assembly in Oct. 78. No. 1606.
Protest by non-associators in Bethlehem in 78. No. 1607.
List of non-associators in Bethlehem, undated. No. 1608.
Scripture passages quoted in support of the Moravian position regarding the Test Act. No. 1592a.

Copy of the coronation oath, England. No. 1609.
Form of oath of abjuration. No. 1610.
Excerpts from a speech from the throne. No. 1611.
Memorandum containing the provisions of the Test Act and supplementary acts. No. 1612.
Excerpt from the act of the Penn'a Assembly of Nov. 26, 78. No. 1613.
Another excerpt of the same date. No. 1614.
Excerpt from the act regulating the use of specie (78). No. 1615.
Quotation from Dunlap's magazine, March 11, 79. No. 1616.
Summons for the militia of the eighth class in Bethlehem, undated. No. 1617.
Record of payment of militia fines, Bethlehem, undated. No. 1618.
Record of payment of militia fines, Bethlehem, June 80. No. 1619.
Record of payment of militia fines, Bethlehem, July 80. No. 1620.
Record of payment of militia fines, Bethlehem, six months in 81. No. 1621.
Draft of petition to the Supreme Executive Council of Penn'a, 82. No. 1622.
Copy of petition to Congress, May 12, 84. No. 1623.
Form of petition for use of non-jurors, drafted by Okely, Jan. 25, 85. No. 1624.
Copy of petition by Hope Moravians to the goverment of New Jersey, 85. No. 1625.
Copy of act permitting Moravians to substitute an affirmation for an oath, Nov. 25, 85. No. 1626.
Another copy of No. 1626. No. 1627.
Results of conference on missionary methods. (55?). No. 1628.
John Daniel Hammerer's account of the Cherokee nation, Sept. 26, 66. No. 1629.
Copy of petition of Christian Indians in Wyalusing, 1769. No. 1630.
Copy of petition of Sam Davis and other Indians in Schechschiquanünk to John Penn, Feb. 7, 69. No. 1631.
Address of the Wyalusing and Schechschiquanünk Indians to the Representatives of Pa., May 16, 72. No. 1632.
Minutes of conference with Indians at Beaver Creek, Aug. 14, 72. No. 1633.
Statutes and rules adopted by the Christian Indians at Langunto-Utenünk and Welhik Tuppek, Aug. 72. No. 1634.
Schebosch's account of the forcible removal of the mission from Ohio, Nov. 4, 81. No. 1635.
Copy of No. 1635. No. 1636.
Excerpt from the message of the President and Council to the Penn'a Assembly, May 14, 82. No. 1637.
Digest of acts, orders, and ordinances of Congress, May 20, 85 - Sept. 3, 88. No. 1638.
Copy of act regulating the grants of land appropriated for military services and for the S. P. G., June 1, 96. No. 1639.
List of families in Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning proposing to migrate to the Muskingum. No. 1640.
Copy of grant of land in Ohio, Feb. 24, 98. No. 1641.
Excerpts from the announcement by S. P.G. of conditions governing the obtaining of leases in Ohio. No. 1641a.
Description of the lower Muskingum valley. No. 1642.
Excerpt from the diary of Gnadenhütten on the Muskingum, July 13, 99. No. 1643.
Memorabilia of the colonists in Gnadenhütten on the Muskingum, 99. No. 1644.

Historical account of Gnadenhütten on the Muskingum, 96 - 1819, placed in the cornerstone of the new church. No. 1645.
Copy of resolution by Committee of the Penn'a Assembly granting land to S. P. G. No. 1646.
F. W. Melsheimer's essay on the doctrine, life, and customs of the Moravian Brethren. No. 1647.
Note from *Annual Register*, 87. No. 1648.
Item from *Daily Advertizer*, May 5, 91. No. 1649.
Copy of proclamation by Gov. Hancock of Mass., July 6, 93. No. 1650.
Notes from *Universal Magazine*, Sept. 94, regarding farming in Scotland. No. 1651.
Excerpt from Naturalization Act, Jan. 29, 95. No. 1652.
Notes on Winterbotham's history of America, (96). No. 1653.
Report concerning a legacy, signed Ferd. Ortslieb, June 17, 89. No. 1654.
A memorandum referring to Lt. J. F. H. Burghoff. (See No. 141 and 608). No. 1655.
Status of the English, French and Spanish fleets, 78 and 79. Nos. 1656, 1656a, 1656b.
Quotation from the *Philadelphia Gazetteer*, May 6, 97. No. 1657.

VIII. Ettwein Documents Incorporated in the Bethlehem Diary

Diary of his voyage in 1745—not written by himself—appendix to April 54.
Journals of visits:
To Friedensthal in 54—appendix F to Sept. 54.
To Oley and Maguntsche in 54—appendix J to Sept. 54.
To Allemängel and Gnadenhütten in 54—appendix F to Oct. 54. (A duplicate is also recorded in the diaries of work among children).
To the country congregations in 55—appendix C to April 55.
Continuation of the above—appendix D to May 55.
To various congregations in 56—appended to the diary of work among the children, July 56.
In Maryland in 74—appendix to Oct. 17, 74.
To Philadelphia and Jersey in 78—appendix to Nov. 11, 78.
To Lititz and Maryland in 84—appendix B to Oct. 84.
To New York and Staten Island in 85—appendix C to May 85.
To Sichem, Oblong, and Rhinebeck in 86—appendix 2 to Aug. 31, 86.
To New York in 87—appendix A to Oct. 87.
To Herrnhut (Bethlehem to Amsterdam) in 89—appendix to June 89.
To Herrnhut (Herrnhut to Bethlehem) in 89—appendix to January 90.
To Trenton in 91—appendix to Oct. 91 (a duplicate is appended to Oct. 92).
Ettwein's address to the Brethren concerning taking the Test, Sept. 17, 78—appendix to Sept. 30, 78.
Account of Ettwein's interview with the Seneca chiefs in 91—appendix to Jan. 91.
Summary of petition to Congress concerning the Ohio land—appendix to Aug. 92.
Letter, Ettwein to Nathanael Seidel, Jan. 13, 82—appendix to Jan. 31, 82.
Excerpts from letters to Ettwein (Chas. Thomson, Oct. 9 and 13; Gen. Butler, Oct. 18; and James White)—appendix to Oct. 86.
Poems:
Celebrating the joyous participation of the children in the festival of the Married People's Choir—appendix C 2 to Sept. 54.

Celebrating the festival of the angels, Sept. 29, 54—appendix N a to Sept. 54.
A hymn of thanksgiving for use in lovefeast—appendix J 4 to Dec. 54.
On work in the harvest fields—appendix D b to July 55.
For a harvest lovefeast—appendix E to Sept. 55.
For a lovefeast for the Indian children, June 24, 55—appendix to the diary of work among children: Nazareth, and Salisbury, Sept. 55.
For the festival of the Children's Choir in Bethlehem, Sept. 19, 55—appendix to the diary of work among children: Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Salisbury, Sept. 55.
On the massacre at Gnadenhütten on the Mahony—appendix 7 to Jan. 56.
Hymn for the festival of the Married People's Choir, Sept. 7, 56—appendix 1 b to Sept. 56.
Hymn for the children's harvest lovefeast, Sept. 29, 56—appendix 7 to Sept. 56.
For the birthday of Benigna (Baroness von Watteville)—appendix 5 to Dec. 56.
For the festival of the Boys' Choir in Bethlehem—appendix 6 d, Jan. 57.
For the festival of the Married People's Choir—appendix 5 to Sept. 57.
A welcome to new arrivals from Europe—appendix to April 79.
For the Bethlehem congregational festival, June 25, 81—appendix W to June 81.

Documents Preserved in the Moravian Archives, in Winston-Salem, N. C.

I. Papers Concerning Wachovia

1. Ettwein's resumé of events in Wachovia, Dec. 52 - 59.
2. Instructions issued to Ettwein by Spangenberg on the occasion of the former's journey to Wachovia, June 20, 58.
3. Statement of Ettwein's personal account, Aug. - Oct. 1, 66.
4. Statement of Ettwein's journey account, Bethabara to Bethlehem in 66.
5. Statement of Bethabara accounts, Oct. 15, 66.
6. Memorandum for Brother Schropp (66).
7. Memorandum concerning several tracts of land adjoining Wachovia (66?).
8. Ettwein's account of his visit to Gov. Tryon, 66.
9. List of questions relative to Wachovia prepared by Ettwein for discussion in the Provincial Synod of 66 at Bethlehem.

II. Letters

A. Letters received by Ettwein

1. Feldhausen, Henry, 1 letter, May 12, 62.
2. Hauser, Jacob, 1 letter, Aug. 15, 66.
3. Laurens, Henry, copies of 2 letters, July 14, 87 and June 25, 90.
4. Spöhnhauer, Henry, 1 letter, undated.
5. Spöhnhauer, Henry, to Graff and Ettwein, 1 letter, undated.

B. Letters written by Ettwein

1. Bethlehem Board, 5 letters, Feb. 57, (60?), Nov. 30, 61, (Jan. 62?), Sept. 62.
2. Governing Board—Directorium, 3 letters, (65?), 66, Feb. 18, 67 [in two drafts].
3. Graff, John M., 3 letters, Feb. 18, 72, Oct. 2, 75, May 11, 77.
4. Graff, John M., et al., 1 letter, April 8, 77.
5. Laurens, Henry, 3 letters, Aug. 21, 87, Feb. 20 [Feb. 16], 90, Aug. 27, 91.
6. Laurens, Henry, Jr., 1 letter, March 23, 93.
7. von Marschall, Frederick, 3 letters, Oct. 5, 68, Jan. 19, 71, Sept. 25, 90.
8. Schropp, Matthew, 6 letters, Oct. 5, Oct. 16, Oct. 26, Nov. 8, 66, July 6 and Aug. 28, 67.
9. Seidel, Nathanael, 2 letters (63).
10. Spangenberg, A. G., 5 letters, Oct. and Nov. 18, 60, Feb. 63, Jan. and Sept. 29, 64.
11. Spangenberg et al., 1 letter, March 61.
12. von Watteville, John, 6 letters, (59?), Sept. 12, 60, March and Sept. 10, 62, Feb. 63, March 23, 64.
13. Weiss, Jonas Paulus, 1 letter (59?).

III. Various

1 Poem commemorating New Year, dated Dec. 31, 62.
2. Excerpt from two circular letters from Ettwein and his traveling companions, Feb. 16 and Feb. 28, 89.
3. Journal of Ettwein and his companions, Bethlehem to Amsterdam, 89.
4. Official letter, announcing the death of John Ettwein, dated Jan. 2, 1802.

Documents Preserved in Non-Moravian Collections

Library of Congress

Charles Thomson Papers:

Six documents dealing with the Ohio land grant:

1. Letter, Ettwein to Thomson, March 4, 84 [Bethlehem Collection No. 1386].
2. Letter, Ettwein to Thomson, Sept. 18, 86 [Bethlehem Collection, No. 1399].
3. Letter, Thomson to Ettwein, Oct. 13, 86 [Bethlehem, Collection, No. 1401].
4. Letter, Ettwein to Thomson, Nov. 4, 86 [Bethlehem Collection, No. 1404 b].
5. Letter, Thomson to Ettwein, Dec. 4, 86 [Bethlehem Collection, No. 1405].
6. Letter, Ettwein to Thomson, March 26, 88.

Papers of the Continental Congress:

Six documents dealing with the Ohio land grant:

1. Memorial of Ettwein, Andrew Hübner, and Hans Christian de Schweiniz, Oct. 28, 83. [Bethlehem Collection, Nos. 1385 and 1385a].
2. Letter, Ettwein to Thomas Mifflin, President of Congress, March 5, 84. [Bethlehem Collection, No. 1386a].
3. Report of a committee of Congress on the memorial of Oct. 28, 83.

4. Report of a committee of Congress on letter of Aug. 1, 86 from Ettwein and letter of July 3, 86 from Lt. Col. Harmar (Aug. 17, 86). [Bethlehem Collection, No. 1394].
5. Memorial of John Ettwein respecting lands reserved for the Moravian Indians, Aug. 29, 88. [Bethlehem Collection, No. 1415].
6. Report of committee of Congress on the memorial of Aug. 29, 88.

Washington Papers:

1. Letter, Ettwein to Washington, March 25, 78. [Bethlehem Collection, Nos. 1203 and 1204—quoted on pages 269 ff.].
2. Letter, Washington to Ettwein, March 28, 78. [Bethlehem Collection, No. 624—quoted on page 272].
3. Letter, Ettwein to Washington, March 28, 88. [Bethlehem Collection, No. 1205].
4. Letter, Washington to Ettwein, May 2, 88. [Bethlehem Collection, No. 625].

Negative Photostats (Originals in the Herrnhut Archives):

1. *Kurze Nachricht von den Unruhen in Nord Amerika und der Brüder Verhalten und Leiden dabey.* Archiv der Brüderunität, Herrnhut. Rep. 14. A. No. 46. (A short Account of the Disturbances in North America and of the Brethren's Conduct and Suffering in this Connection.)

   [This is the document referred to on page 215 of this work, and of which variant readings appear as footnotes on pages 225-317].
2. *Briefe und Memoranda von Ettwein, 1771-1787.* Archiv der Brüderunität, Herrnhut. Rep. 14. A. No. 47. (Ettwein's letters and memoranda, 1771-1787). They comprise the following items:

Correspondence:

1. Letter, Ettwein to Bishop John de Watteville, May 19, 85—folios 74, 75.
2. Idem, Sept. 16, 85—folio 76.
3. Idem, Oct. 24, 85—folios 77, 78. (Contains description of reopening of Nazareth Hall).
4. Idem, Dec. 14, 85—folios 79-82. (Contains account of steps taken to preserve real estate belonging to the Church in Lititz).
5. Idem, March 25, 86—folio 83.
6. Idem, June 30, 87—folios 84-86. (Contains characterization of individual ministers). [Bethlehem Collection, No. 1214].
7. Idem, July 21, 87—folio 91. [Bethlehem Collection, No. 1214a].
8. Idem, Sept. 21, 87—folio 92.
9. Copies of correspondence between Henry Laurens and John Ettwein—folios 87-90. Excerpt letter, Laurens to Ettwein, July 14, 87. [Bethlehem Collection, No. 347]. Excerpt letter, Ettwein to Laurens, Aug. 21, 87. Copy letter, Laurens to Ettwein, Sept. 10, 87. [Bethlehem Collection, No. 348].
10. Copy letter, John Ettwein, Andrew Hübner, and H. Chr. Schweiniz to Arthur St. Clair, March 25, 88—folios 93, 94.

Matters of Church Administration:

1. Notes on the constitution of the Moravian Church in Penn'a (81?)—folios 40-43.
2. Notes on the duties and powers of the Prov. Helpers' Conf.—folios 49-52.
3. Notes concerning the needs of the Church in Penn'a, undated—folios 44-46.
4. Notes on the financial condition of the settlement congregations. undated—folios 47, 48.

5. Report on condition of the town and country congregations (86?)—folios, 57, 58.
6. Notes on difficulties arising from increasing number of non-resident members belonging to the Bethlehem congregation, undated—folio 59.
7. List of superannuated employees of the Church, May 1771—folios 2, 3.
8. Ettwein's proposal concerning the disposition of the Unity's property in Nazareth, Aug. 12, 84—folios, 31 - 33.
9. Ettwein's proposals concerning change of management of Christiansbrunn, Gnadenthal, Nazareth, and Friedensthal, Aug. 12, 84—folios 34 - 36.
10. Memorandum concerning the administration of the property of the Unity, undated—folio 60.
11. Memorandum concerning agreement reached at Gnadenthal, undated —folios 53, 54.
12. Memorandum on problems connected with the administration of the Indian Mission (85?)—folios, 55, 56.
13. Notes concerning the financial status of the schools and boarding schools (84?)—folios 62, 63.
14. Statement concerning the proposed Paedagogium (84?)—folios 64, 65.
15. Notes concerning the administration and support of the boarding schools (84?)—folios 66, 67.

Military Service and Test Act:

1. A dialogue on the propriety of abjuring the King, April and May 1777—folios 67 - 71.
2. Statement of Ettwein's arguments against submitting a petition at the time for exemption from the Test Act, July 10, 77—folios 9, 10. [referred to on page 322].
3. Address delivered by Ettwein to the communicant membership in Bethlehem, July 77—folios 7, 8. (He questions the advisability of a petition at that juncture and states the determination of the board to follow the direction of the lot.) [Referred to on page 255].
4. Official communication of the board's decision to the congregation at Lititz, July 1777—folios 11, 12. [Referred to on page 222].
5. Statement by Ettwein of the considerations preventing him personally from abjuring the King, April 14, 78—folios 13 - 20.
6. Ettwein's address to the Brethren concerning the Test Act, Sept. 17, 78—folios 21, 22. [This address is also incorporated in the Bethlehem Diary, as appendix to Sept. 30, 78].
7. Ettwein's note accompanying the diary for Sept. 78—folios 23 - 26. [Contains an account of the events described on pages 297 - 303].
8. Remarks by Ettwein concerning the question of military service and abjuring the King, undated—folios 27 - 29.
9. Draft of a petition to the Penn'a Assembly pleading for mitigation of punitive taxation (1779 or later)—folios 37 - 39. [Presumably this petition was not presented].

Various:

1. An article by Ettwein to Editor Towne, containing a protest against the new constitution proposed by Penn'a. Published in the *Evening Post*. Sept. 26, 76—folios 4 - 6. [Quoted in part on pages 245 f.].
2. Item from the *Philadelphia Gazette* of Dec. 10, 88 and *Daily Advertizer* of Dec. 11, 88—folio 100. (Containing suggestion that the Bethlehemites begin the manufacture of cotton cloth by machinery).

3. Questions suggested by the text of May 6 (85)—folios 72, 73.
4. Inscription placed on marker of the site of the massacre at Gnadenhütten on the Mahony—folio 100.
5. German translation of the ordinance of Congress of Sept. 3, 88—folios 97-99. (Concerning grant of land in Ohio).
6. Quotation of the article on the Moravian Church in the catechism published by Mr. Marshall, minister of the "Seceders" in Philadelphia—folio 96.
7. German translation of the above—folios 101, 102.
8. Draft of letter of remonstrance addressed to Mr. Marshall in April 1788 (but not sent)—folio 95.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Ten letters from John Ettwein:

1. To the membership of the town and country congregations, June 29, 76. [Bethlehem Collection, No. 1288. Quoted on page 243].
2. To John Penberton, Aug. 8, 78.
3. To George Bryan, Sept. 19, 78 [Bethlehem Collection, No. 806].
4. To George Washington, March 28, 88. [Bethlehem Collection, No. 1205—referred to on page 194].
5. To A. Reincke, Oct. 23, 94.
6. To "His Excellency" (Gov. Mifflin) Aug. 8, 95.
7. To Jonathan Dayton, Feb. 5, 96. [Bethlehem Collection, No. 1436].
8. To William Larvill, Sept. 16, 98.
9. To John Meder, Jan. 20, 99.
10. To David Zeisberger, April 27, 1800.

New York Public Library

[*Stauffer Collection*]

Petition of John Ettwein on behalf of the Moravians. Read in the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, May 22, 78. [Bethlehem Collection, No. 1300a—quoted on page 291].

South Carolina Historical Library

Nine letters of John Ettwein to Henry Laurens. [See appendix C].

1. Jan. 15, 78. [Bethlehem Collection, No. 987—quoted on pages 265 ff.].
2. Jan. 29, 78. [Bethlehem Collection, No. 988—quoted on page 267].
3. May 23, 78. [Bethlehem Collection, No. 1520a].
4. June 4, 78.
5. Nov. 25, 78. [Bethlehem Collection, No. 990].
6. Sept. 11, 84. [Bethlehem Collection, No. 991—quoted in part on page 361]. (Enclosures: Account of the Gnadenhütten massacre. Extracts from the diary of David Zeisberger).
7. Sept. 21, 84.
8. Feb. 16, 90.
9. Sept. 25, 90. [Bethlehem Collection, No. 996].

APPENDIX C

A Calendar of the Henry Laurens-John Ettwein Correspondence Preserved in Charleston, S. C., Winston-Salem, N. C., Philadelphia, Pa., and Bethlehem, Pa.[1]

1. Laurens to Ettwein, dated Bethabara (N. C.), Jan. 7, 61. [Winston-Salem.]
2. Laurens to Ettwein, dated Camp of Keowie, July, 61. [Winston-Salem.]
3. Laurens to Ettwein, dated Charles Town, Nov. 24 (61). [Winston-Salem.]
4. Ettwein to Laurens, an undated copy, reply to No. 3. (Bethabara, Jan. 62?). [Bethlehem, No. 985.]
5. Laurens to Ettwein, dated Charles Town, April 7, 62. [Winston-Salem.]
6. Ettwein to Laurens, an undated copy, reply to No. 5 (Bethabara). [Bethlehem, Nos. 984, 986.]
7. Laurens to Ettwein, dated Charles Town, Nov. 3, 62, reply to No. 6. [Winston-Salem.]
8. Ettwein to Laurens, a copy dated Feb. 63 (Bethabara). [Bethlehem, No. 983.]
9. Laurens to Ettwein, a letter book copy, dated March 19, 63. (Charleston). [Philadelphia.]
10. Laurens to Ettwein, dated Charles Town, Nov. 10, 63. [Winston-Salem.] A letter book copy of it [Philadelphia.]
11. Laurens to Ettwein, a letter book copy, dated March 13, 64. (Charleston). [Philadelphia.]
12. Ettwein to Laurens, dated Bethlehem, Jan. 15, 78. [Charleston.] A copy of it [Bethlehem, No. 987.] (Quoted by Ettwein in his history).
13. Laurens to Ettwein, dated Yorktown, Jan. 22, 78. [Bethlehem, No. 344.] A letter book copy of it. [Charleston.] (Quoted by Ettwein in his history.)
14. Ettwein to Laurens, dated Bethlehem, Jan. 29, 78. [Charleston.] A copy of it. [Bethlehem, No. 988.] (Quoted by Ettwein in his history.)
15. Ettwein to Laurens, an undated copy. (Bethlehem, March 78?). [Bethlehem, No. 832.]
16. Ettwein to Laurens (?), an undated copy (Bethlehem, April 78). [Bethlehem, No. 989.]
17. Laurens to Ettwein, dated Yorktown, May 16, 78. [Bethlehem, No. 345.] A letter book copy of it. [Charleston.] (Quoted by Ettwein in his history.)
18. Ettwein to Laurens, dated Lancaster, May 23, 78. [Charleston.] A copy of it. [Bethlehem, No. 1520a.]
19. Ettwein to Laurens, dated Bethlehem, June 4, 78 [Charleston.]
20. Laurens to Ettwein, dated Philadelphia, Nov. 23, 78. [Bethlehem, No. 346.]
21. Ettwein to Laurens, dated Bethlehem, Nov. 25, 78. [Charleston.] A copy of it. [Bethlehem, No. 990.]

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1 Manuscript collections of the *South Carolina Historical Library* in Charleston, S. C., of the *Moravian Archives* in Winston-Salem, N. C., of the *Historical Society of Pennsylvania* in Philadelphia, Pa., and of the *Moravian Archives* in Bethlehem, Pa.

22. Ettwein to Laurens, dated Bethlehem, Sept. 11, 84. [Charleston.] A copy of it. [Bethlehem, No. 991.]
23. An enclosure in No. 22: Extracts of the Diary of David Zeisberger. [Charleston.]
24. An enclosure in No. 22: Account of the Moravian Missions in the West Indies. (Dated Sept. 21, 84.) [Charleston.]
25. Laurens to Ettwein, dated Mepkin Plantation, S. C., July 14, 87. [Bethlehem, No. 347.]
26. Ettwein to Laurens, excerpt from letter dated Bethlehem, Aug. 21, 87, reply to No. 25. [Washington Photostat.]
27. Laurens to Ettwein, dated Charlestown, S. C., Sept. 10, 87. [Bethlehem, No. 348.]
28. Ettwein to Laurens, an undated copy, reply to No. 27 (Bethlehem, Oct. 87 ?) [Bethlehem, No. 992.]
29. Ettwein to Laurens, an undated copy. (Bethlehem, Nov. 87 ?) [Bethlehem, No. 993.]
30. Laurens to Ettwein, dated Mepkin Plantation, S. C., April 5, 88, reply to No. 29. [Bethlehem, No. 349.]
31. Ettwein to Laurens, an undated copy, reply to No. 30, (Bethlehem, May 88?). [Bethlehem, No. 994.]
32. Ettwein to Laurens, dated Bethlehem, Feb. 16, 90. [Charleston.]
33. Laurens to Ettwein, dated Mepkin Plantation, S. C., June 25, 90. [Bethlehem, No. 350.]
34. Ettwein to Laurens, dated copy, Philadelphia, July 8, 90, reply to No. 33. [Bethlehem, No. 995.]
35. Laurens to Ettwein, dated Mepkin Plantation, S. C., Sept. 10, 90, reply to No. 34. [Bethlehem, No. 351.]
36. Ettwein to Laurens, dated Bethlehem, Sept. 25, 90. [Charleston.] A copy of it. [Bethlehem, No. 996.]
37. Ettwein to Laurens, dated copy, Bethlehem, Aug. 27, 91. [Bethlehem, No. 997.]

ABBREVIATIONS

E. P. .....Ettwein Papers in the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.

N. A. .....Non Associator.

P. H. C. or
P. Helf. Conf....Provinzial Helfers Conferenz fürs Ganze (Provincial Helpers' Conference for the Whole or the Administrative Board of the Church in Bethlehem, Pa.)

S. P. G. .....The Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen.

U. A. C. or
U. Aelt. Conf....Unitäts Aeltesten Conferenz (Unity's Elders' Conference, or the Governing Board of the entire Moravian Church.)

U. E. C. .....Unity's Elders' Conference.

INDEX

Abjuring the King of England: reasons deterring Moravians, 221, 260, 279, 282, 284; Moravians not unanimous in their views, 221 ff., 278, 295, 296 n., 302 f., 308, 322; distinction made by leaders, 221 f.; action to keep membership from, 242 n. f.; sentiment in settlements against, 253 f., 296, 303; Moravians willing to pledge fidelity to U. S., 286, 288, 290, 293 and n., 305, 318 ff.

Abraham, the Indian, 344.

An Account of the History . . . of the Indian Nations, 119 n.

Achgohunt, the Indian, 176 n.

Act of Parliament, containing recognition of the Moravian Church: application leading to, 215, 218; Moravians exempted from bearing arms and taking oath in, 218, 265, 281, 283; also, 199, 288.

Adams, John: letter by, quoted, 237 f.; description of Bethlehem by, 258 n.; also 91 n., 204, 223, 250, 259.

Adams, Samuel, 232, 236, 258 n., 259.

Agriculture and cattle raising by Christian Indians, 110, 187, 206, 208 f., 342 n., 346, 354 ff., 361.

Agriculture by missionaries, 355, 374.

Albany, description of, 334.

Allemängel, Pa., Moravian congregation at, 90 n.

Allentown, Pa., 251, 259, 276, 277 n., 292, 297 ff., 302 f.

Allomewi, Solomon, the Indian, 343.

Anders, —, 331.

André, John, 316.

Andrews, Ludwig, 277.

Angermann, John, 166 and n.

Anglicans, 173, 192, 199, 290, 294, 333, 337.

Antes, Henry, 122 n.

Anton, the Indian, 344.

Archives: Congressional brought to Bethlehem, 258 n.; Moravian at Bethlehem, 88 n., 93, 131, 184, 197, 215 n., 285 n., 290 n.; Moravian at Herrnhut, 215 n.; Moravian at Winston-Salem, 301 n.

Arbuthnot, Marriot, 315.

Armstrong, John, 258.

Arndt, Jacob, 263, 277 and n., 296, 298, 300.

Arnold, Benedict, 316.

Aschmann, Anna, 332.

The Asia, 238.

Associations, articles of, 220, 233.

Associators: election oath for, 241 n., 307; also, 220, 234, 238 f., 241 n., 243 f., 263.

Atonement, Ettwein's emphasis upon, 124, 334 f., 337 f.

Augustus, the Indian, 192.

Baptism: as practised in mission field, 185 n., 186, 190 f.; administered by Ettwein, 178, 332; also, 179.

Baptists, 125, 179, 330 and n., 332, 337.

Barton, Thomas, 290.

Bayard, Speaker, 289 ff., 291 n., 298, 306.

Beaver, King, the Indian, 347, 352.

Beck, John Valentine, 165 and n.

Bennet, widow, 166.

Benzien, Christian Lewis, 212 and n.

Bethabara, N.C.: Moravian congregation at, 91; also, 108 n., 111, 112 n., 113 and n., 124, 134, 167 n., 316.

Bethania, N.C.: Moravian congregation at, 91; also, 111, 165 n., 167 n., 316.

Bethel, Pa.: Moravian congregation at, 90 n.; statistics, 1774, 91 n.

Bethlehem, Pa.: Moravian congregation at, 90; location of 90 n.; statistics, 1774, 91 n.; water wheel at 91 n., 258 n.; lumber supplied from mill at Gnadenhütten, 110; profits by rise in government certificates 133; life in, 135 ff.; erection of Central Church, 138 f.; building of bridge at, 139; Widows' Society of, 143 and n.; value of buildings at, 144 n.; status of industries in, 145, 152; organized activities in, 145; contributions toward church deficit, 146, 148; property settlement in, 148; local boards organized in, 148; local industries to support

work in, 149; contributes to Sustentation account, 154; Moravians in, opposed to abjuring the King, 221; fails to furnish recruits, 236, 252 f.; fines levied in, 247, 263; bitterness against, 251, 263, 265 ff., 291, 297, 304; kindness shown to, 251 and n., 258 f., 264; continental hospital in, 251 f., 257 ff.; feels full effect of the war, 256 ff.; damages suffered by, 257; members of Congress visit, 258 f.; described by John Adams, 258 n.; protective document for, 259, 266; plans to locate Congress in, 259 and n.; kindness to patients evinced in, 259, 264 and n.; contagion from hospital spreads in, 263 ff.; visited by many strangers, 292 n.; the crisis for, 297 ff.; secret of hostility against, 297 and n.; prayers for King of England in, 300 and n.; also, 88 n., 92 f., 101 and n., 105 n., 107 n., 108 n., 109 n., 110 ff., 113 n., 115 n., 116 ff., 119 n., 123; 125 n., 126 and n., 127 f., 131, 133 f., 134 n., 136 ff., 141 and n., 142 f., 144, 147, 149, 150 and n., 151 and n., 152 f., 155 and n., 156 and n., 157 n., 159, 160 and n., 162, 164, 167 n., 169, 174 f., 177 and n., 183 and n., 185, 187, 194, 196 n., 201 n., 202 n., 212 n., 216, 219 and n., 223 n., 230 and n., 236 n., 244, 251 and n., 255 and n, 264 n., 265 and n., 269 f., 271, 272 n., 273, 277 f., 279 and n., 280, 283, 285 n., 286 n., 287, 289, 290 n., 291 n., 292 f., 295, 301 and n., 302, 304, 305 and n., 308 n., 309, 321, 323 n., 328 ff., 333, 335 f., 336 n., 340 and n., 341, 356 and n., 357, 359, 365 f.

Bethlehem and the Moravians in the Revolution, 215 n.

The Bethlehem Diary: quoted, 125 f., 131, 173 n., 175 n., 216 n., 218 n. f., 306 n., 336 n.; also, 88 n., 93, 109 n., 122 and n., 123 n., 132 n., 208 f., 216, 251 n., 255 n., 277 n., 292 n., 300 n., 328 n., 373 n.

The Bible, Ettwein's regard for, 124, 174, 184 and n., 195, 328, 369.

Big Tree, the Indian, 210.

Biographical notes: Angermann, John, 166; Beck, John Valentine, 165; Böhler, Francis, 303; Böhler, Lewis Frederick, 125; Bonn, John Herman, 279; Busse, Andrew, 279; Cennick, John, 329; Dencke, Jeremiah, 279; Dettmers, Ferdinand, 285; Dober, John Leonard, 104; Dreyspring, Charles Jacob, 286; Edmunds, William, 230; Edwards, William, 189; Ettwein, Anna Benigna, 107; Ettwein, Anna Johanna, 108; Ettwein, Christian, 107; Ettwein, Jacob, 108; Ettwein, Johanetta Maria Kymbel, 106; Ettwein, John, 108; Eyerly (Eyerle), Jacob, 203; Francke, John Christopher, 286; Franz, Christian, 164; Friis (Fries), John Jacob, 264; Gambold, Hector Ernest, 340; von Gammern, Juliana Benedicta, 160; Gregor, Christian, 146; Grube, Bernard Adam, 286; Hasse, John Christian, 272; Heckewelder, John, 119; Hehl, Matthew, 127; Henry, William, 244; Horne, William, 329; Huber, George, 202; Jung, Michael, 189; Jungmann, John George, 177; Keller, John Renatus, 286; Kleist, Maria Magdalena Ettwein, 108; Klingsohr, John Augustus, 155; Lembke, Francis Christian, 278 f.; Lister, Christian, 170; Lore(t)z, John, 147; Lösch, Jacob, 159; Mack, John Martin, 336; von Marschall, Frederick William, 164; Meyer, Simon Christopher, 286; Mortimer, Benjamin, 197; Münster, Paul, 279; Neisser, George, 323; Nitschmann, Immanuel, 165; Okely, John, 230; Peter, John Frederick, 279; Reichel, Charles Gotthold, 152; Reichel, Charles Rudolph, 173; Reizenbach, Phillip Jacob, 286; Rogers, Jacob, 132; Roth(e), John, 343; Russmeyer, Albert Rudolph, 338; Schaaf, Christian Frederick, 151; Schaukirch, Ewald Gustavus, 127; Schebosh, John, 366; Schemes, Henry William, 150; Schmick, John Jacob, 177; von Schweini(t)z, John Chr. Alex., 138; Seidel, Nathanael, 113; Sensemann, Gottlob, 196; Sölle,

George, 331; Spangenberg, Augustus Gottlieb, 105; Sydrich, Daniel, 133; Tanneberger, David, 330; Thrane, Amadaeus Paul, 236; Tillofsen, Niels, 133; van Vleck, Henry, 305; Wade, John, 331; Wallis, John George, 286; von Watteville, John, 108; Weiss, Lewis William, 304; Zeisberger, David, 172; Zeisberger, David, Jr., 132; Zeisberger, Susan Lecron, 183; von Zinzendorf, Erdmuth Dorothea, 104; von Zinzendorf, Nicholas Lewis, 104.

Bischoff, David, 122 n.
Bishop of London, 173 n.
Bland, Theodore K., 263.
Blum, Frederick, 254.
Böckel, Tobias, 301.
Bogardes, —, 329.
Böhler, Francis, 303 and n., 328 and n., 330.
Böhler, Lewis Frederick, 125 and n.
Böhler, Peter: suggests method for furthering translation work, 195 n.; also, 116 n., 125 n., 132 n., 303 n.
Bollan, William, 232.
Bonn, John Herman, 256, 279 and n., 285, 298, 300.
Boston: "tea party", 229; Port Bill, 229; also, 226 ff., 230 f., 236 and n., 239, 311 f.
Bradford's newspaper, 230.
Bradshaw, —, 331.
"Branch" of Church, 135.
Brodhead, Daniel, 311.
Bryan, George: letter to Robert Levers, quoted, 293; letter to John Wetzel, quoted, 293 n.; also, 292 f., 295.
Brethren of the Law of Christ, 87.
Brownson, Nathanael, 259.
Bruce, David, 122 n.
Die Bücher der heiligen Schrift Alten Testaments, 173.
Burgoyne, John, 256, 310 n., 312.
Burkhalter, Peter, 243.
Burnside, James, 122 n.
Busse, Andrew, 279 and n., 285.
Cammerhof, John Frederick, 122 n.
Van Campen, John: letter, quoted, 298; also 300.
Carlisle, Abraham, 306.
Carlisle, Frederick Howard, 310 f.
Carr incident, 127 n.
Cassler, Lewis, and sons (Jacob, Lewis, William ?), 295.
Catholics, 305, 311, 320, 348.
Cennick, John, 329 and n.
Charleston, S.C., 111 f., 112 n., 227 ff., 265, 308, 312 and n., 315, 317.
Chelloway, Job, the Indian, 342 n.
Choir system: origin of, 139 f.; industrialization of, 140 f.; financial retrogression of, 152 ff.; relation to supply of workers, 154 f.; insubordination of a, 162; war fines shared in, 247; described by Ettwein, 270 f.; also, 89 n., 106 f., 107 n., 108 n., 114, 116, 132 n., 134 n., 135, 137, 142, 146, 151, 153, 160, 163 ff., 165 n., 168 f., 181, 183 n., 251 and n., 256 ff., 258 n., 263 ff., 264 n., 269, 279 n., 286 n., 292, 297 and n., 309, 349, 353.
Christ, Ettwein's views on divinity of, 124 f., 328, 334.
Christiansbrunn, Pa.: filial of Nazareth, 90; also, 107 n., 122 n., 141, 143 n., 148 n.; 149 n., 161, 257, 263, 286 n., 297.
Claus, David, 333.
Clinch, ——, 332.
Clinton, Henry, 315 f.
Cölln, Claus, 295.
Comenius, John Amos, 87.
Committee of Safety, 230 n.
Congress of the Colonies: recommendation by, July 1775, 234; begins to circulate money, 238, 278; moves to secure independence, 240 ff. and n.; flight to Bethlehem, 258 f.; protects Bethlehem, 259, 266; plans to make Bethlehem its seat, 259 and n.; memorial by Moravians to, quoted, 281 ff.; takes no action on memorial, 287 f.; depreciation of currency of, 313 ff., 313 n.; also, 173 n., 228, 230 ff., 237 ff., 244 f., 245 n., 250, 255, 257, 264 n., 267 f., 278 n., 280, 294, 302, 310, 312, 319.
Congress of the United States: approached for the support of Moravian work, 178; plans donation of mill to Indians, 179; grant of land by, 203 ff., 360; photostats of Ettwein MSS in Library of, 215 n.; also, 133, 198, 200, 222 n., 358.
Conner, Mary Ann, 335 n.

Conscience, freedom of, insisted on by Moravians, 217 f., 220 f., 223 ff., 236 f., 247 ff., 253 ff., 266, 269, 278 n., 281 f., 283 f., 287, 290, 291 n., 293 n., 295 n., 320 f.
Continental Hospital: located in Bethlehem, 251 f., 257 ff., 268; Ettwein chaplain in, 105 n., 126; high death rate in, 264; insanitary conditions in, 257, 264 and n.; contagion from, spreads in town, 263 ff.; kindness to patients in, shown by Moravians, 259, 264 n.; unit of, located in Lititz, 268 f., 273; Shippen's proposal to commandeer all Lititz for, 269 ff., 272 ff.; also, 277 n.
Convention of Colonies, 240 f., 241 n., 244, 246, 252.
Cornel, William, 339.
Cornelius, the Indian, 329.
Cornplanter, the Indian, 210.
Cornwallis, Charles, 315 ff.
Crist, George, 277.
Croghan, George, 356 and n.
Cropper, John, 127 n.
Cunow, John Gebhardt, 143 n.
Dana, Francis, 288.
Davis, Nathanael, the Indian, 344 f., 349.
Deane, Joseph, 277 and n.
Declaration, Candid, or, *Declaration, über die zeither gegen uns ausgegangene Beschuldigungen,* etc., 201, 333.
Declaratory Act, 225.
Deism, Ettwein's attitude toward, 173 n., 245 f., 246 n., 328.
Dencke, Jeremiah, 132, 256, 279 and n., 285.
Depui, Benjamin, 241 n.
Depui, Nicholas, 241 n.
Deshler, David, 241, 256, 277.
Dettmers, Ferdinand Philip Jacob, 285 and n.
Diaspora, 147 and n., 173 n.
Dickinson, John, 237.
Directorium, 89.
Disagreement on policies between Governing Board and American leaders, instances of, 145, 160 f.
Discipline: exclusion for adultery, 126.
Dobbs Parish, N.C., 132 n.
Dober, Leonard, 104 and n., 105.
Doctrinal texts—see Texts, doctrinal.
Donegal, Pa.: Moravian congregation at, 90 n.; statistics, 1774, 91 n.
von Dorsch, Anatje, 334.
Dreisbach, Simon, 243.
Dreyspring, Charles Jacob, 286 and n.
Drinker, Henry, 349 n.
Duane, James, 259.
Duer, William, 259.
Dyer, Eliphalet, 259.
Easton, 233 n., 236, 241 n., 251, 257, 258 n., 265 n., 276 n., 277 n., 293, 303, 311.
Echpalewechund, the Indian, 346.
Economy, the General: origin of, 139 ff.; reasons for abandonment, 142; officially terminated, 148 and n.; Ettwein's description of, 270; also, 134, 145, 149 and n., 167, 171.
Eden, William, 310.
Edmunds, William, 230 and n.
Educational institutions, 108 n., 112, 115 n., 122 n., 136, 141, 152 and n., 197 n., 212 n., 279 n., 338 f.
Edwards, William, 189 and n., 365 f.
Edwin, Jean, 101.
Elder, Chief, 104 n.
Ellery, William, 288.
Emmaus, Pa.: Moravian congregation at, 90 n.; statistics, 1776, 91 n.; church members arrested in, 276 ff.; members of, compelled to abjure England, 303; also, 166, 283, 290 n., 291 n., 295, 296 n., 308 n.
Enge Rat, 89.
English, the use of in American churches, 155 f.
Episcopalians, 91 n., 179.
Estaing, Charles H. T., 310 ff., 311 n.
Ettwein, Anna Benigna, 107 and n., 108, 115 and n., 128.
Ettwein, Anna Benigna, 108 n.
Ettwein, Anna Hackringos, 101 n.
Ettwein, Anna Johanna, 108 n.
Ettwein, Anna Johanna, 108 n.
Ettwein, Anna Regina Zahn, 108n.
Ettwein, Christian, 107 n., 108, 114, 115 n.
Ettwein, Dörl—see Köhler, Dörl.
Ettwein, Dorothea, 108 n.
Ettwein, Elizabeth Margaretha Vogler, 102 n.
Ettwein, Gottlieb, 102, n.

Ettwein, Jacob, 108 n., 112, 114 f., 115 n.
Ettwein, Johanna Elisabeth, 108 n.
Ettwein, Johannetta Maria Kymbel: biographical note, 106 n.; a deaconess, 106; accident to, in Bethabara, 113; death of, 128 and n.; Ettwein's tribute to, 114, 116.
Ettwein, John: services of, during Revolution, 92, 215, 280 ff.; prominence in Church, 101, 138 f.; birth, 101; ancestry, 101 and n.; schooling, 102; religious development, 102 f.; first knowledge of Moravians 102; journeys, 103 and n., 111 ff., 150, 328 ff., 342 ff.; unites with Moravians, 104 f.; trade, 105; early illness, 105; vision, 105 n.; chaplain of older boys, 105; Zinzendorf's personal servant, 106; acolyte, 106; marriage, 106 and n.; deacon, 106; failure in Herrnhut, 107; birth of first child, 107; separation from child, 108; stay in London, 108; voyage to America, 109; arrival in Bethlehem, 109 and n.; work among children, 109; naturalization, 109 n.; first impressions of Indian mission, 109 f.; independence reprimanded, 110; charitableness, 110; transferred to Wachovia, 110 ff.; exposure in Shenandoah Valley, 111; association with Spangenberg, 111 and n.; courage, 111; journey to South Carolina, 111; in charge of Wachovia, 111 f.; a presbyter, 112; commission in Savannah, 112; friendship with Henry Laurens, 112; call to Bethlehem, 113; amateur surgery, 113; visits Gov. Tryon, 113; family cares, 114 f.; his ideal of a wife, 116; his position in Bethlehem, 116 f., 123, 135 ff., 139, 164, 292; traits shown in office, 117 ff., 120 n., 134 n., 136 ff., 139, 170 f., 180 ff., 184, 189, 205 n., 210 f., 299 ff., 301 n.; widely read, 121; regard for historical records, 122 and n.; versification, 123 n., 176 n.; as a preacher 123 and n., 124; regard for Bible 124, 174, 184 and n., 195, 328, 369; emphasis on incarnation and atonement, 124, 334 f., 337 f.; his position on faith, 124 f.; on regeneration, 124 f., 330 f., 340; on worship of Christ, 125, 328, 334; distrust of "theology", 125; rejects sinless perfection, 126; chaplain in Continental Hospital, 126, 264; contacts with officials, 126 f., 126 n., 223 n., 287 and n., 288 ff., 292 and n., 298, 302, 333; consecrated bishop, 127; modesty and friendliness, 128 f., 129 n.; visit to Germany, 128; daughter accompanies him on return, 128; death of wife, 128 and n.; failing health, 129 and n.; release from office, 130; death and burial, 130; characterization of, 130, 170 f., 212; as official correspondent, 131 ff; initiative, 132; pungent style, 132 f.; scope of activities, 135 ff.; charged with autocracy, 138; urges building of Central Church, 138 f.; opposes building bridge, 139; inherits problems from Economy, 139 ff.; asks to be relieved from certain duties, 142 n.; interest in church finance, 143; committed to program of growth, 145 f., 155, 332; opposes sale of land, 149 n.; protests against unsuitable workers, 150; complains of excessive expenses, 150 f.; fears for future, 152, 154 f.; opposes uniform pensions, 153; view of Choir system, 154; plans for supply of workers, 155 f.; use of the watchwords, 157 n.; attitude toward the lot, 158 ff.; regulates marriage, 163 ff.; advocates decentralization, 167 and n.; views disagree with Governing Board, 168; congregations served by, 167 n.; regard for fellowship, 168 f.; devotion to missions, 170, 172, 177 f., 203 n.; views on unevangelized heathen, 172 f.; views on predestination, 173, 339 f.; attitude toward deism, 173 n., 245 f., 246 n., 328; contact with mission, 109 f., 174 f., 192, 195, 342 ff.; maps by, 175 f.; interest in translation, 175, 194 ff., 343 f.; believes Indians descendants of Israelites, 176 n.; vocation as evangelist, 177 and n., 328 f., 339; calls on Pres. Wash-

ington, 177 n.; realism in appraising missions, 178 ff.; attitude toward other churches, 125, 179 f., 375 f.; insistence upon works as evidence of faith, 179 f.; estimate of missionaries, 181 f.; of Zeisberger, 183 and n.; interest in missionaries, 183 f., 354; gives missionaries responsibility, 185; emphasizes uniformity in methods, 185 f., 185 n.; policy in selecting station sites, 187, 342 n., 345; attitude toward expansion of work, 188, 202, 211; places responsibility on native converts, 188 and n; attitude towards chiefs, 189 f; concerning baptism, 190; concerning marriage, 191 ff.; interest in folklore, 193 f., 194 n.; urges educational activity, 197 f.; founds the S. P. G., 198 ff.; secures land grants for missions, 200 ff.; opposes missionaries engaging in trade, 201 f.; secures land in Pa., 202 f., 203 n.; in Ohio, 203 ff.; attitude toward massacre at Gnadenhütten, O., 204 n.; plans administration of Ohio grant, 203, ff.; failure of plans, 207 f.; labors to keep Indians out of war, 209 f.; teaches brotherhood, 210; attitude toward war, 217, 219 ff., 323 ff.; opposes abjuring loyalty to England, 221 f., 266, 281 f., 283 f., 291 n., 293 n., 296 n., 300, 303, 318 ff., 323 ff.; reconciled to new order, 222 ff.; regard for Presidents Washington and Adams, 222 f.; belief in providence, 224, 243 n.; petitions War Office, 256; secures relief for Bethlehem, 258 f.; appeals to Henry Laurens, 265 ff.; protests to Washington on behalf of Lititz, 269 ff.; visits families of prisoners, 277; drafts memorials to Assembly and Congress, 280 f.; negotiates with Congress, 287 f.; with Assembly, 289 ff., 290 n.; petition to Council, quoted, 291 and n.; results of efforts, 292 ff., 293 n., 295 n.; reasons for delay by authorities, 294 f.; letter to Giering, quoted, 295 n.; appeals again to Assembly, 298; summoned by local justices, 299 ff.; presents second petition, 305 ff.; bids Laurens farewell, 308; belief in efficacy of prayer, 309 f., 375 f.; unimpressed by prayer meeting, 330; interview with Sir William Johnson, 333; public testimony in New London, 337; characterizes state of religion in New England, 340; conference in Langunto-Utenünk, 342 ff., 342 n.; entertained by Netawatwes, 342 n.; interview with Delaware chiefs, 345 ff.; reply to offer by other societies, 352; urges converts to support missionaries, 355; return to Bethlehem, 356 f.; states motive for missions, 372.

Ettwein, John, 108 n., 114, 115 n., 265, 373 n.

Ettwein, John, 108 n.

Ettwein, John Gottfried, 108 n.

Ettwein, Jos., 101 n.

Ettwein, Matthias, 101 n.

Ettwein, Maria Dorothea, 108 n.

Ettwein, Maria Magdalena — see Kleist, Maria Magdalena.

Ettwein Papers, quoted: *94*, 225 ff.; *101*, 359 f.; *103*, 362 ff.; *105*, 107, 109, 128; *106*, 107, 109 f., 113 n., 116, 125, 129 n., 290 n.; *107*, 103; *108*, 109; *109*, 103 n.; *110*, 114, 175; *112*, 211; *114*, 176 n.; *115*, 342 ff.; *116*, 328 ff.; *150*, 165 n.; *268*, 119; *366a*, 293 n.; *370*, 174 n.; *471*, 120; *597*, 132; *599*, 106 n.; *602*, 111 n., 119 n.; *645*, 297 n.; *726*, 220; *801*, 126; *817*, 133; *818*, 115 n.; *818b*, 125; *834*, 295 n.; *835*, 134 and n.; *839*, 134 n.; *842*, 178; *847*, 147; *854*, 125; *857*, 150; *858*, 150, 201; *859*, 164, 166; *861*, 179; *866a*, 187 n.; *867*, 141, 161, 188; *870*, 164, 170; *871*, 128 n.; *875*, 134 n.; *876*, 162; *879*, 164; *880*, 139; *886*, 146; *887*, 149; *891a*, 208; *896*, 150; *901*, 151, 162; *903a*, 123 n.; *910*, 177 n., 203 n.; *914*, 154; *915*, 120; *916*, 120, 132 f.; *920*, 133, 152; *922a*, 143 n.; *923a*, 205 n.; *925*, 223; *925a*, 223; *927*, 180; *929*, 118; *938*, 182; *941*, 220, 323 ff.; *947*, 202 n.; *956*, 117; *957*, 158; *959*, 138; *960*, 118; *964*, 193 f.; *965*, 366 f.; *975*, 138; *978*, 173 f.; *981*, 223; *991*, 180, 361; *1011*, 179; *1012*, 372 ff.; *1018*, 129;

1029, 201 n.; *1040*, 208; *1041*, 184 n.; *1043a*, 181 f., 188; *1055*, 197; *1065*, 215 n.; *1068*, 309 n.; *1083*, 133; *1085*, 117; *1087*, 168; *1088*, 166; *1101*, 165; *1102*, 133; *1103*, 155; *1113*, 203 n.; *1114*, 170; *1133*, 183 n.; *1136*, 116; *1140*, 118; 128; *1145*, 157 n.; *1152*, 204 n.; *1160*, 124; *1169a*, 135; *1169c*, 118, 169; *1177*, 154; *1195*, 181 n.; *1198*, 124; *1199*, 128; *1213*, 114, 177, 179, 183 n.; *1215*, 165 n.; *1215a*, 200 n.; *1216*, 159; *1218*, 169; *1222*, 179, 199 ff.; *1223*, 153; *1240*, 177; *1246*, 189 n.; *1248*, 211; *1249a*, 115; *1252*, 209; *1256*, 183 n.; *1257*, 183 n.; *1260*, 147; *1273*, 217, 220 f.; *1274*, 127 n.; *1292*, 291 n.; *1293*, 319 ff.; *1305*, 122 and n.; *1318*, 118; *1333*, 161, 308 n.; *1336*, 141, 166; *1344*, 118, 170; *1350*, 202 n.; *1357*, 181; *1362*, 206 n.; *1366*, 369 f.; *1371*, 176; *1382*, 198; *1472*, 216; *1501*, 120 n.; *1502*, 128 n.; *1580*, 222; *1633*, 343 n.

Ettwein Papers, referred to: *17*, 148 n.; *17a*, 148 n.; *78*, 114; *96*, 127 n., 251 n., 259 n.; *106*, 129 n., 178; *107*, 103 n.; *112*, 210; *115*, 210; *145*, 102 n.; *177*, 115 n.; *191-198*, 203; *262*, 203; *333*, 102 n.; *370*, 195 n.; *764*, 196 n.; *788*, 91 n.; *790a*, 373 n.; *793*, 151 n.; *816*, 349 n.; *819*, 102 n.; *828*, 258 n.; *835*, 113 n.; *842*, 164; *849*, 181; *850a*, 201; *856*, 193; *858*, 201; *860*, 186 n.; *861*, 188 n.; *862*, 190 n.; *866a*, 181; *867*, 118; *871*, 264; *881*, 122; *882*, 204; *885*, 144 n.; *893*, 204; 898, 199; *909*, 203; *918*, 222 n.; *921*, 204; *924*, 204; *976*, 102 n.; *978*, 105 n.; *980*, 186; *981*, 210; *1004*, 194; *1011*, 201; *1012*, 201; *1041*, 190; *1042*, 181, 182 n.; *1044*, 188 n.; *1045*, 188; *1093*, 181; *1097*, 168; *1100b*, 114; *1101*, 204; *1102*, 115 n.; *1104*, 204; *1105*, 120; *1146*, 178; *1153*, 245; *1163*, 185 n.; *1169a*, 239; *1177*, 144 n.; *1186*, 128; *1208*, 210; *1209*, 210; *1212a*, 177; *1241*, 176 n.; *1248*, 157 n.; *1251*, 189; *1264*, 177 n.; *1273*, 221, 224; *1298*, 221; *1300a*, 292 n.; *1338*, 146; *1351*, 177; *1357*, 197, 211; *1358*, 206; *1368*, 197; *1369*, 196 n.; *1370*, 176 n.; *1372*, 175; *1373*, 199; *1384-1448*, 204; *1465*, 198; *1468*, 203; *1505*, 190 n.; *1523*, 203; *1541*, 207; *1565*, 259 n.; *1574*, 175 n.; *1600*, 290 n.; *1628*, 184; *1646*, 203; *1653*, 121.

Evening Post, 245 f., 246 n.

Ewing, James, 244.

Eyerly (Eyerle), Jacob, 202 f., 203 n.

Fairfield, Canada, 196 n., 373 and n., 374.

Faith, Ettwein's views on, 124 f.

Feldhausen, Christopher, 332, 334.

Finances, state of federal, 313 ff.

Financial stress in Church, 105 n., 140, 142, 144 ff., 152 ff., 200 and n.

Finlay, Samuel, 127 n.

Fishery Bill, 232.

Folsom, Nathanael, 259.

Fox, Nicholas, 297 and n., 298, 301.

Francke, John Christopher, 286 and n.

Franklin, Benjamin: Seidel's letter to, quoted, 233 f.; reply to Seidel, 234; also, 228 and n., 232 f., 244, 250, 310 n.

Franklin, William: letter to N. J. Assembly, quoted, 240 n.; also, 240 n. f.

Franz, Christian, 164 and n.

Friedberg, N. C.: Moravian congregation at, 91; also, 165 n.

Friedenshütten (or Wyalusing): Moravian mission station at, 174; location of, 174; work at, closed in 1772, 174 f.; map of, 175, 176 n.; departure from, rouses suspicion, 333; also, 110, 177 f., 180, 191 f., 195, 202 n., 341, 346, 353 n., 355, 359.

Friedensthal, Pa., 90, 122 n.

Friedrichstown, Pa., 122 n.

Friis (Fries), John Jacob, 220, 264 and n.

Frisbie, the Rev. Mr., 352.

Führer, Christian, 334.

Gage, Thomas, 229, 231, 236.

Galloway, Joseph, 231.

Gambold, Hector Ernest, 340 and n.

von Gammern, Juliana Benedicta, 160 and n.

Gardner, —, 336.

Gaspee, 227 and n.

Gates, Horatio, 251 and n., 315.

Gendaskund, Jacob, the Indian, 192, 343.
General Advertizer, 319.
Gekelemuchpeking: Ettwein's visit to, 345 ff.; description of, 348; also, 175 and n., 208, 342, 349 and n., 352, 360, 375.
Germantown, Pa., 122 n.
Gibel, John, 336.
Gibson, Col., 204 n.
Gideon, the Indian, 336.
Giering, Andrew: Ettwein's letter to, quoted, 295 n.; letter to Levers from, quoted, 296; also, 277, 295 and n.
Glikhikan, Isaac, the Indian: eloquence of, 188 n., 362; gives testimony to his faith, 348; characterized by Ettwein, 348, 362; also, 342 n., 343, 345, 350 f.
Gnadenhütten, on Mahony: Moravian congregation at, 90 n; statistics of, 1776, 91 n.; location of, 109 n.; mill at, supplies Bethlehem, 110; massacre of missionaries at, 110, 123 n., 359; fines levied in, 247; also, 109 f., 122 n., 283, 290 n., 328 n., 330, 354.
Gnadenhütten, on Muskingum (on Tuscarawas): massacre at, 110 n., 204 and n., 360 ff.; location of, 197 n.; plans for commencement of, 353 f.; name selected, 354; date of beginning, 360 and n.; also, 179, 193, 196 n., 197, 206, 366.
Gnadenthal, Pa., 90, 122 n., 148 n., 164 n., 263, 297.
Goschgoschünk, 349 and n.
Goshen, Ohio, 196 n.
Göttlich, widow, 134 n.
Gottschalk, Gottlieb, 122 n.
Governing Board: Instances of disagreement of, with American leaders, 145, 160 f., 168; relation to S. P. G., 200; also, 89 n., 91, 113 n., 117, 122, 128, 131 f., 134, 138 n., 142, 144, 147 n., 150 f., 151 n., 152 n., 154 f., 160 f., 164 n., 165, 167, 170, 183 n., 184 n., 185 f., 190 n., 199, 204 n., 205 n.
Graceham, Md., 90 n.
Gracehill, Ireland, 329 and n.
Graff, John Michael, 101 n., 301 n.
Grammar of the Onondaga Language, etc., 196.
Granville, John, 281.
Gras, Michael, 334.
Graves, the Rev. Mr., 337.
Gray, Niel (Nigel), 241, 243 and n.
Great awakening, fruits of, in Maryland, 124.
Greene, Nathanael, 315 ff.
Gregor, Christian Frederick, 120, 143 n., 146 and n., 149, 222 n.
Grube, Bernard Adam, 164, 286 and n.
Half Town, the Indian, 210.
Hamilton, Alexander, 216 and n.
Hammlein, Marie, 134 n.
Hancock, John, 232, 236, 258 n., 259.
Hardwick, Pastor, 330.
Harnett, Conrad, 259.
Harris, Gilbert, 335.
Harris, Joshua, 335.
Harris, Moses, 335.
Harris, Timothy, 331 and n., 332.
Harris, Timothy, Jr., 332.
Harrison, Benjamin, 259.
Hartman, Thomas, 277.
Hasse, John Christian, 258 n., 272 and n.
Hassler, Abraham, 295.
Hawkin, Benjamin, 332.
Hawkin, Joseph, 332.
Hebron, Pa. (see also Lebanon): Moravian congregation at, 90 n.; statistics for 1774, 91 n.
Heckewelder, John: biographical note, 119 n.; proposed marriage, 160; characteristics of, 181 f., 182 n.; founds Salem, Ohio, 360 n.; also, 119, 175, 188, 343 f., 351, 354, 365, 366, 375.
Hehl, Matthew: biographical note, 127 n.; consecrates Ettwein bishop, 127; letter to William Shippen, quoted, 273 f.; Shippen's reply, quoted, 274; suggests addendum to memorial, 286 f.; favored conformity to Test Act, 322; Ettwein's letter to, quoted, 323 ff.; also, 116 n., 167 n., 243, 255 n., 278 f., 285, 322 n.
Heidelberg, Pa., 90 n., 91 n.
Henry, Patrick, 234.
Henry, William: biographical note, 244 n.; urges statement of Moravian position, 260; wishes to have Moravians declare for Colonies, 295; interposes in favor of Bethlehemites, 299; also, 244, 255 n., 301 f., 350.
Herrnhaag, 105 and n., 106, 107 and n., 108.

Herrnhut, 87 and n., 88 f., 103 n., 104 n., 105 n., 106 and n., 107, 110, 113 n., 115, 127 n., 128, 132 n., 138 n., 143, 147 n., 151 n., 161, 165 and n., 168, 215 n., 217, 248 n., 258 n., 279 n., 323 and n., 330 n.
Hertels, John, 337.
Herzel, Jacob, 230 and n.
Herzel, Jonas, 230 n., 263.
Hill, William, 329.
The History of Greenland, etc., 333, 352.
The History of the Mission of the United Brethren, etc., 371.
Homily, the, 123 and n.
Hooper, Robert L., 256.
Hope, N.J.: Moravian congregation at, 90 and n; location of, 90 n.; choir system delayed in, 160 f.; failure of, 161 n.; losses through currency depreciation, 314 n.; originally called Greenland, 328 and n.; also 136, 139, 159 n., 167 n., 255, 271.
Horne, William, 329 and n.
Hospital at Bethlehem—see Continental Hospital.
Hourly intercession, 106 and n.
Howe, William, 250, 256 f., 269, 274 n.
Huber, George, 202 f., 202 n.
Hübner, John Andrew, 165 n.
Hus, John, 87, 215 n., 216, 270.
Hussites, 217.
Hutchinson, Thomas, 228.
Idea Fidei Fratrum, 105 n.
Indians: theory of Israelitic origin, 176 n.; map making by, 176 n., 350; prone to drink, 342 n., 345 f., 350 n., 372; welcome native Christians but not missionaries, 343 n., 347, 349 n., 359; worship the whippoorwill, 348; tribute to sorcerers, 348; disturbed by conversion of chiefs, 349 n.; distribution of tribes, 350; white captive of, 350; vomiting practised, as remedy for sin, 351; interest in smithing, 374. See also Mission to Indians.
Indians, Christian: characterized by Ettwein, 178 ff., 344, 353; compelled frequently to migrate, 186 and n.; agriculture, etc., practised by, 110, 187, 206, 208 f., 342 n., 346, 354 ff., 361; tribal divisions reasserted among, 187, 353 f.; marriage problems among, 187, 191 ff.; given offices in church, 188 and n., 342 ff., 354, 363; conversion of chiefs, a problem for, 190 and n.; property rights among, 191 f.; borrow too readily, 201; responsible for church buildings, 201 n.; receive land grant in Ohio, 204 ff.; conditions under which this land occupied, 205 f.; losses in Tuscarawas, 206; kept out of war by influence of teachers, 209 f., 360 ff., 365 ff.; united in Christian communities, 210 f; surnames introduced for, 343; lack of prayer among, 344; Bible study resolved on by, 349; impression on visitor, made by, 352; urged to support missionaries, 355; practise hospitality, 208, 373, 375. See also Missions to Indians.
Irene, the, 109 and n.
Jackson, Hall, 257.
Jaeger, —, 298.
James, Abel, 349 n.
Jennings, John, 277.
Johanna, the Indian, 336.
Johnson, John, 239.
Johnson, William: Ettwein's interview with, 333; also, 210, 356.
Johnston, George, 310.
Jones, Joseph, 259.
Joseph, the Indian, 192.
Joshua, of Pachgatgoch, 336.
Joshua, the Mohican, 344, 352 f.
Jung, Michael, 189 and n.
Jungmann, John George, 177 and n., 206 n., 207 n., 343, 351, 353 ff.
Kalb, John, 257.
Keller, John Renatus, 286 and n.
Killbuck, John the Indian, 179 and n., 343 n., 346 f.
Kingsbury, N.Y., 328 and n., 331, 334.
Kleist, Daniel Ettwein, 108 n.
Kleist, David, 108 n., 165 n.
Kleist, John Daniel, 108 n.
Kleist, Maria Magdalena Ettwein, 108 n., 113, 115 n., 165 n.
Klemm, John Gottlieb, 330 n.
Klingsohr, John Augustus, 155 and n.
Knaus, Abraham, 277.
Knaus, Henry, 277.
Knaus, Jacob, 277.
Knaus, John, 277.

Knaus, Michael, 277.
Köhler, Dörl Ettwein, 102 n.
Kornmann, —, 323.
Kraus, Samuel, 295.
Kunze, John Christopher, 173 and n.
Lafayette, Marie Jean Paul . . ., 258 and n., 317.
Lancaster, Pa.: Moravian congregation at, 90 n.; statistics for 1774, 91 n.; Ettwein appears before Assembly in, 289 ff.; also, 108 n., 114, 118, 183 n., 201 n., 230 n., 241 n., 242, 244 and n., 255 n., 259 f., 263, 271, 277, 293 n., 295, 299, 304, 323 and n., 332, 357.
Langguth, John M. — see von Watteville, John.
Langley, Anne Rebecca, 258 n.
Langunto-Utenünk: Moravian mission station at, 175; location of, 175, 341; reason for abandonment of, 186 n.; distance from Schönbrunn, 351; description of, 355; also, 177, 342 f., 344, 346, 348, 351 f., 353 ff.
Laurens, Henry: acquaintance with Moravians, 112 and n.; planned to donate land to Moravians, 112 n.; kindness to Ettwein, 112; uses influence in favor of Moravians, 258 f., 265, 287 ff., 306 n.; Ettwein's appeal to, 265 ff.; advises Moravians to petition Assembly, 267; Ettweins reply to, quoted, 268; Moravians confidence in, 281; letter to Ettwein, quoted, 288 f.; character revealed, 305 n.; Ettwein bids farewell to, 308; also, 173 n., 180, 272, 306 n., 361.
Laurens, John: letter quoted, 272 n.; also, 272.
La Trobe, Benjamin, 333.
Law, Richard, 259.
Lawall, John Michael, 247 and n.
Lawunakannek, 349 n.
Lebanon, Pa. (see also Hebron, Pa.), 216, 244, 260, 327.
Lee, Arthur, 194 and n., 232.
Lee, Charles, 251, 310.
Lee, Richard Henry, 259.
Leibert, George, 277.
Leibert, Martin, 277.
Leinbach, Chr., 295.
Leinbach, Frederick, 254 and n., 255.
Leipziger Intelligenz Blatt, 120 n., 128 n.
Lembke, Francis Christian, 278 and n., 285.
Levers, Robert: letter from George Bryan, quoted, 293; letter from Ettwein, quoted, 293 n.; letter from Giering, quoted, 296; also, 241 n., 295.
Lexicon of the German and Onondaga Languages, 196 n.
Lichtenau, Ohio: date of commencement, 360 n.; also, 186 n., 209 and n., 366.
Limbach, Frederick, 296 ff., 300.
Lincoln, Benjamin, 311 f., 315.
Lindheim, 108 and n.
Linn, William, 201, 371 ff.
Lister, Christian, 170 and n.
Lititz: Moravian congregation at, 90; location of, 90 n.; statistics for 1774, 91 n.; contributes to Sustentation account, 154; many Moravians in, favor cause of Colonies, 221, 295, 303, 326; unit of Continental Hospital located in, 268 f., 273, 309; Shippen proposes to commandeer whole of, 269 ff., 272 ff.; Ettwein's account of founding of, 270 f.; also, 114, 127 n., 133 n., 149, 151, 156 n., 162, 164, 165 n., 167 n., 177 n., 183 n., 189 n., 230, 255 n., 263, 280, 283, 286 and n., 287, 290 n., 291 n., 295, 296 n., 303 n., 322 and n., 338 n., 357.
Locke, John, 222.
Lore(t)z, John, 147 and n., 149, 174 n.
Lösch, Jacob, 159 and n.
Loskiel, George Henry, 371, 196 n.
Lot, the: significance and use of, 89, 156 ff., 287; instances of use of, 134, 151 n., 157 n., 159 ff., 243 n., 260 f., 280, 299, 308; restricted use in mission field, 182, 184 and n., 185 and n., 191, 193, 344, 351, 353 f.
Lovefeast services, 109, 145, 342.
Lucius, John Frederick, 115 n.
Lungberg, —, 303.
Lutherans, 173 n.
Lydia, the Indian, 192.
Maccluer, David, 351 f.
Mack, John Martin, 101 n., 122 n., 336 and n.
McKean, Thomas, 241 n., 288, 295.
McKenny, Rebecca, 332.

Macungie, Pa., 239 n., 293 n.
Maps: by Ettwein, 175 f.; by Indians, 176 n., 350.
Marcus, the Indian, 191.
Marienborn, 104 and n., 105 and n., 106, 108 n.
Marriage in the Moravian Church: use of blank lot in, 157 f.; Zinzendorf's concept of, 163; changing views in Ettwein's day, 163 ff.; in mission field, 184 n., 186 f., 191 ff.; also, 136.
von Marschall, Frederick William: biographical note, 164 n.; also, 101 n., 116 n., 129, 164 f., 212, 286 n.
Marshall, Christopher, 291.
Martin, Henry, 334.
Martin, John, the Indian, 354.
Matlock, Timothy: letter to Ettwein, quoted, 299; also, 292 and n.
Maul, Jacob, 334.
Mennonites, 234 n., 290, 292, 296.
Merchant, Henry, 259.
Methodists, 125, 330 n., 334.
Meyer, Adolphus, 122 n.
Meyer, Simon Christopher, 286 and n.
Mifflin, Thomas, 177 n., 201 n.
Military stores located in Bethlehem, 257 f.
Militia, 110 n., 204 and n., 216, 238, 244, 247.
Militia law, 238, 255, 262 f., 265 ff., 285, 290, 308 n., 322 n.
Miller, Abraham, 243.
Miller, Elisha, 330.
Miller, Jacob, 239 and n., 295.
Miller, John, 295.
Miller, John Henry, 327.
Miller's newspaper, 245.
Mission to Indians: effectiveness of, 109 f., 172, 178 ff., 208 f.; supported by Economy, 141 f.; number of converts in, 180; policy of station conferences, 181, 185, 190, 354; migratory nature of, 186 and n., 341 ff., 346 f., 351, 359 f.; policy in selecting station sites, 187, 342 n., 345, 351; tribal distinctions reasserted in, 187; use of converts in extending work, 188, 342 and n., 351; use of native "helpers", 188 and n., 342 ff., 354, 363; attitude towards chiefs, 189 f., 347, 374; policy regarding conversion of chiefs, 190 and n.; baptism in, 190 f.; preserves Indian folklore 193 f.; literary activity in, 195 ff., 343 f.; educational activity in, 197 f.; opposed by Anglicans in Connecticut and New York, 199; hampered by lack of funds, 200 and n.; divorced from trade, 201, 374 f.; cost in early years, 201 n., 374; receives land grant in Pa., 202; unfavorable estimate of, 202 n; becomes trustee of Indian land in Ohio 204 ff.; as civilizing agency, 206 n., 333; reestablishment in Ohio, a mistake, 207 f.; keeps Delawares from taking up arms, 209 f., 360, 362 f., 365 ff.; breaks down tribal divisions, 210 f.; history of, 359 f.; See also: Lot, the restricted use in mission field—Marriage in the Moravian Church in mission field.
Missionaries to Indians: die in Indian raid, 110; lack of unity among, 181; not sent out singly, 181 n.; children of, placed in Bethlehem, 183; children of, in church schools, 183, 374; responsible for certain decisions, 185; lack uniformity in work, 185 f., 190 f.; rules for dealing with women converts, 189; not aggressive enough with chiefs, 189; not zealous enough in mastering language, 194 f.; imprisoned in 1745, 199, 359, 375; served without salary, 201 n., 374; not to engage in trade, 201, 374 f.; property losses in Schönbrunn by, 206 n.; agriculture by, 355, 374; supported in part by converts, 355; pensioned by S.P.G., 374; practise hospitality, 355, 375.
Moravian Church: established in Pa., 87, 270, 281; origin of, 87 f., 281; name, 87 n., 319; causes for coming to America, 88, 269 f., 283; colony in Georgia, 88, 281; method of government in, 89; extent of American church, 90 f., 90 n.; statistics of Pa. congregations, 91 n.; effect of Revolutionary War upon, 92, 118, 151 ff., 168 ff., 215, 314 n; salaries in, 114; early activity in America, 122 n.; property adjustment in,

144 ff.; contributions by American congregations to, 146, 148, 201; shortage of ministers in, 155; use of English in American congregations of, 155 f.; distinctive American church emerging, 167 ff.; recognition of, by Parliament, 199; responsible for support of missionaries, 201 n.; proposal to share war fines, 247; wins esteem of neighbors, 308 n.; activity of, in New England, 327 ff.; also, 102, 134, 138 n., 142. See also: Abjuring the King of England—Financial stress in the Church—Lot, the—Marriage in the Moravian Church—Speaking—Text, doctrinal—War, Moravian attitude toward—Watchwords.
Morey, Jacob, 296 ff., 300 f.
Morgan, Daniel, 315 f.
Morris, Gouverneur, 288.
Morris, John, Jr., 295 n.
Mortimer, Benjamin, 195 and n., 374.
Moss, the Rev. Mr., 337.
Mount Joy, Pa.—see Donegal.
Mühlenberg, Frederick Augustus, 215 n.
Munitions manufactured in Bethlehem, 259.
Münster, Paul, 279 and n., 285.
Muskbach, John, 254.
Muskingum (see also Tuscarawas): Ettwein's visit to this district, 175; early use of the term, 341 n.; also, 200, 206 n.
A Narrative of the Mission . . . Among the Delawares, etc., 119 n.
Nazareth, Pa.: Moravian congregation at, 90; location of, 90 n.; statistics for 1774, 91 n.; contributions of, for deficit, 148; property adjustment at, 148 n.; schools in, 152 f., 152 n.; contributions of, for Sustentation account, 154; Moravians in, opposed to abjuring King, 221, 302 f.; fines levied in, 247; also, 107 n., 108 n., 112, 132 n., 134 n., 139, 149 and n., 151, 158, 159 n., 161, 167 n., 168, 197 n., 202 n., 203 n., 212 n., 230 n., 257, 266, 269, 271, 273, 279 and n., 280, 283, 286 n., 290 n., 291 n., 297, 301, 308 n., 330.
Neisser, George, 122 n., 323 and n., 339.
Neskalichen, the Indian, 346.
Netawatwes: entertains Ettwein, 342 n.; visited by Ettwein, 345 ff.; also, 179 n., 208, 209 n., 348, 350.
Newcomer, King—see Netawawes.
Newcomerstown—see Gekelemuchpeking.
New England, state of religion in, 340.
New Lights, 330 and n., 332, 338.
Newport, R. I.: Moravian congregation at, 90 n.; founded by Spangenberg, 338 n.; abandonment of, 338 n.; school at, 338 f.; also, 155, 310, 316, 327, 340.
New Salem, Ohio, 366 n., 373.
New York, N.Y., 90 n., 110, 118, 127 n., 128 f., 132 and n., 167 n., 173 n., 197 n., 199, 218 n., 228, 250, 252, 256, 310, 313, 330, 337, 339 f., 375.
New York Missionary Society, 371 ff.
Nicola, Lewis, 265 n.
Nitschmann, David, "the carpenter", 113 and n.
Nitschmann, David, "the Syndic", 113 and n.
Nitschmann, Immanuel, 165 and n.
Nitschmann, John, 165 n.
Noah, the Indian, 373 n.
Non—Associators, 238 f., 241 n., 244, 247, 262, 265 f.
Oberlin, John Francis, 301 and n.
"Oblong", the, 328 n., 335.
Okely, John, 230 and n., 236, 258 n., 299, 301, 305.
Oldman's Creek, N.J., 90 n.
Oley, Pa., 122 n., 262.
Ordination of Anglicans by Moravians proposed, 173 n.
Orndt, Jacob, 243.
Pachgatgoch: location, 336 n.; reason for withdrawal from, 336 n.; also, 122 n., 336, 359.
Palmer, Nathanael, 338.
Papunham, John, the Indian, 342 n., 344 ff., 346 n., 347 f., 354.
Parliament, 225, 227 ff., 231 f., 245 n., 282, 324. See also—Act of Parliament, etc.
Penberton, John, 202 n.
Penn, John, 202 n., 232.
Penn, Richard, 238.
Penn, William, 245.

Pennsylvania, Assembly of: resolution of, June 30, 75, 234; opposes independence, 240 ff.: Moravian memorial to, quoted, 283 ff.; Ettwein's negotiations with, 289 ff., 290 n.; response of, 292 ff., 295 n.; reasons for refusal, 294 f.; aids Moravians, 298; second Moravian memorial to, quoted, 304 f.; Ettwein presents second memorial, 305 ff.; Test Act amended by, 307; also, 203 n., 209, 211, 222, 231 f., 239, 245 ff., 252, 255, 260, 262 f., 267 f., 275, 290, 282, 287, 295 n., 296 n., 298, 300, 302, 306 and n., 308, 322 n.
Pennsylvania, Legislature of, 202.
Pennsylvania, Provincial Committee of, 230 f.
Pennsylvania, Provincial Convention of, 232, 241 n., 247.
Pennsylvania, Provincial Council of: Ettwein's petition to, quoted, 291 and n.; its results, 292 ff.; aid to Moravians from, 298 f.; also, 309.
Pensions, Ettwein opposed to uniform, 153.
Pepi, Joseph, the Indian, 344, 352.
Peter, John Frederick, 279 and n., 285.
Peter of Chelcic, 216 and n.
Peters, Richard, 257.
Philadelphia, Pa.; Moravian congregation at, 90 n.; statistics for 1777, 91 n.; Moravian influence in city of, 91 n.; also, 106 n., 108 n., 114, 115 n., 121, 133 and n., 143, 167 n., 177 n., 199, 219 f., 228 f., 231 f., 234 n., 238, 240 f., 241 n., 242 and n., 243 f., 245 n., 252 n., 256, 260, 262, 264 n., 274, 292, 299 ff., 304 n., 305 and n., 306, 308, 310, 323 n., 359, 375.
Phillips, William, 316 and n.
Pittsburgh, Pa: description of, 356; coal mining at, 356; prices of goods in, 356; also, 175, 201 n., 204 n., 207, 311 n., 342, 346, 352, 355, 357, 365.
Poetry, written by Ettwein, 115 n., 176 n.
Polk, William, 257 f.
Post, Frederick, 122 n.
Prayer, Ettweins belief in efficacy of, 309 f., 375 f.
Prayer meeting, Ettwein unimpressed by, 330.
Preaching: Zinzendorf's views on, 123 and n.; Ettwein's, 123 f., 123 n.
Predestination, Ettwein's views on, 173, 339 f.
Presbyterians, 91 n., 129 n., 179, 306, 311, 353.
Prescott, General, 312.
Presque Isle, Pa., 202, 203 n.
Prisoners quartered in Bethlehem, 256 f., 260, 265 and n.
Providence, Ettwein's belief in, 224.
Provincial Helpers' Conference for the Whole: status of, 89; membership of, in 1770, 116 and n.; minutes of, quoted, 160, 184 n., 188 n.; relation to U.E.C., 169; relation to S.P.G., 200; appeal by, to membership, 235 f.; urges Moravians in settlements not to vote for convention, 242 n.; letter to town and country congregations, quoted, 243 n.; divided on appeal from Test Act, 261; reconsiders its position, 278 ff.; discusses a third memorial, 308; also, 120, 132 n., 144, 150 f., 151 n., 152 n., 156 n., 168, 181, 190, 212 n., 233 n., 236 n., 260.
Pyrlaeus, Christopher, 122 n.
Quakers: gift by, to Christian Indians, 354; also, 91 n., 179, 218 f., 234 n., 291 n., 292, 306, 332, 349 n., 353.
Ralston, John, 243, 298.
Rau, Jeannette, 336 n.
Rau, John, 335 n., 336 n.
Rau, Nicholas, 335 and n.
Rau, Philip, 335 and n.
Rauch, Christian Henry, 122 n., 336 n.
Rauch, John Henry, 295.
Rawdon, Francis, 317.
Readings, Daily, 248 ff., 248 n., 255 f.
Reed, Isaac, 252.
Reformed Church, 112, 295, 330.
Refusal by Moravians to bear arms, 112, 151.
Regeneration, Ettwein's views on, 124 ff., 330 f., 340.
Reichel, Charles Gotthold, 152 and n.
Reichel, Charles Rudolph, 173 and n.

Reichel, John Frederick, 167 n., 215 n.
Reincke, Abraham, 122 n.
Reizenbach, Philip Jacob, 286 and n.
Reus, Henry, 143 n.
Revolutionary war: events leading up to, 225 ff.; effect upon Moravian Church, 92, 118, 151 ff., 168 ff., 187, 247, 256 ff., 265 ff., 282, 284, f., 290 and n., 314 n.; pacifism of Moravian Indians contributes to outcome, 209 f., 360, 363, 365; Boston "tea party", 229; Lexington and Concord, 232; Bunker Hill, 236; Invasion of Canada, 238 f.; moves by the independence party, 240 ff.; Declaration of Independence, 245 n.; General Howe's successes, 250; hospital located in Bethlehem, 251 f., 257 ff.; fall campaign, 1777, 256; treaty with France, 287, 310 and n.; depreciation of currency in, 309, 313 ff., 313 n.; campaign of 1778, 310 f.; of 1779, 311 ff.; of 1780, 315 f.; of 1781, 316 f.; also, 90, 112, 123, 126, 134, 171, 215, 264 n., 323 n., 368.
Rhoads, Peter, 243.
Rice, —, 335.
Roberdeau, Daniel, 244.
Roberts, John, 306.
Rogers, Jacob, 132 and n.
Romig, Frederick, 277.
Ronnel, George, 332.
Roseen, Sven, 122 n.
Ross, George, 244.
Roth(e), John, 343 and n., 344, 351, 353.
Russmeyer, Albert Rudolph, 338 and n., 339.
Ruth, the Indian, 110.
Rutledge, Edward, 250.
Salaries: amount received by Ettwein, 114; Ettwein's proposal regarding, 118.
Salem, Ohio, 360 and n., 363.
Salem, N.C.: Moravian congregation at, 91; location of, 91 n.; also, 101 n., 151 n., 212 n., 316 f., 331 n.
Samuel, the Indian, 180, 336, 344 f., 355.
Saratoga: surrender of British at, 256; description of spring at, 331 and n.
Sarons Büchlein, 331 n.
Sauer's newspaper, 245.
Schaaf, Christian Frederick, 151 and n.
Schaukirch, Ewald Gustavus, 127 and n.
Schebosh, John, 351, 355, 365 f., 366 n.
Schechschiquannunk: Moravian mission station at, 174; location of, 174; also, 176 n., 211, 344 and n., 346.
Schemes, Henry William, 150 and n.
Schenectady, N.Y., description of, 334.
Schmick, John Jacob, 177 and n., 181, 190 n., 193, 366.
Schmidt, Azariah, 335 and n.
Schneider, Adam, 335.
Schnell, Leonard, 122 n.
Schober, Andrew, 305 and n.
Schober, Joanna, 164 n.
Schönbrunn, Ohio: location of, 175 f., 341; maps of, 175 f.; rebuilt by State, 176; named, 344; description of, 345; distance from Langunto-Utenünk, 351; date of beginning, 360 and n.; also, 176 n., 206 and n., 342, 346 f., 353 f.
Schöneck, Pa.: Moravian congregation at, 90 n.; statistics for 1776, 91 n.; also, 166.
von Schweini(t)z, Hans, Christian Alex.: biographical note, 138 n.; position in America, 142 n.; influence upon Ettwein, 223 n.; also, 116, 138, 147, 149 and n., 277, 279, 285, 298, 300, 308.
Schwenkfelders, 262, 290, 293 f.
"Sea congregation", 109.
Seelichkeit der Heiden, 174.
Seeligkeitsplan, 174.
Seidel, Christian, 111.
Seidel, Nathanael: biographical note, 113 n.; letter to Franklin, quoted, 233 f.; Franklin's reply to, 234; also, 113, 116 and n., 122 n., 130, 145, 164 n., 183 n., 266 and n., 279, 285, 299.
Seneca chiefs, Ettwein's interview with, 177 n., 210.
Senior Civilis, 138 n., 164 n.
Sensemann, Gottlob, 196 and n.
Sensemann, Joachim, 122 n.
Separatists, 262, 330 and n.
Sergeant, the Rev. Mr., 180.

Settlement congregations: essential to Zinzendorf's ideal, 167; also, 89 ff., 89 n., 166, 222, 243 n., 253, 269 f., 283, 309 n.
Shamokin, 122 n., 219.
Shaw, —, 339.
Shekomeko, 122 n., 335 n., 359.
Shippen, William, Jr.: letter from, quoted, 257; plans to commandeer Lititz, 269 ff., 272 ff.; letter Hehl to, quoted, 273 f; reply to Hehl, quoted, 274; also, 251, 264 n., 271.
A Short Account of the Disturbances in America, etc., 215 n.
Sichem, N.Y.: Moravian congregation at, 90 n.; organization and end, 328 n.; also, 328, 335 n.
Siegfried, John, 297.
"Sifting, the Period of", 107, 122 and n.
Sillyman, Thomas, 263.
Sinless perfection, Ettwein's views on, 126.
Smith, Hannah, 335 n.
Social Prayers, 372, 375.
Society for Propagating the Gospel: incorporation in N.J., 129 n.; organized by Ettwein, 198 f.; motives for incorporation, 199 f.; relation to administrative boards, 200; acquires land in Pa., 202 f., 203 n., 211; given land in trust in Ohio, 204 ff.; Ohio land retroceded by, 207 f.; provides for retired missionaries and widows, 374.
Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, Bethlehem, 199 n.
Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, London, 200 n.
Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, Scottish, 352.
Sölle, George, 327, 331 and n.
Some Remarks and Annotations Concerning the Traditions, etc., 93, 194 and n.
Sorcerers, tribute paid to, 348.
Spangenberg, Augustus Gottlieb: names Wachovia, 91 n.; biographical note, 105 n.; characterization of Johannetta Ettwein, by, 106 n.; finances *Irene*, 109 n.; association with Ettwein, 111 and n.; heads the Economy, 140; advice of, regarding reception of members, 159; class by, for missionary candidates, 172 n.; organizes Soc. Furtherance Gospel in Bethlehem and London, 199 n.; opposes trading by missionaries, 201; attitude of, towards war, 218 f., 218 n.; organizes Sichem congregation, 328 n.; organizes Newport congregation, 338 n., also, 105, 109, 113 n., 116, 122 n., 131, 132 and n., 134, 142, 145, 234, 333.
Speaking, 261 and n.
Staten Island, N.Y.: Moravian congregation at, 90 n.; also, 129, 250, 252, 340 and n.
Stockbridge, 180, 336.
Stroud, Jacob, 243.
A Succinct View of the Missions, etc., 333.
Sullivan, John, 251, 310 f.
Sustentation account: begun, 149; financial troubles of, 152 ff.; temporary solution of difficulties, 154; also, 143 n., 146.
Sutten, —, 299, 302.
Sydrich, Daniel, 133 and n., 306 and n.
Synods, American Provincial, 109, 112, 118, 327.
Synods, General: "Constitutional Synods", 89; Synod of 1789 attended by Ettwein, 128, also, 90 n., 116, 118, 122, 128, 130, 134, 141, 145, 150 n., 154, 156, 166, 169, 188, 189 n., 198, 200.
Tanneberger, David, 295, 330 and n.
Tanneberger, John, 295.
Taxation, 151, 225, 227 ff., 231.
Test Act: oaths prescribed by, 252 f., 276 n.; Moravians in Jersey resist, 254 f.; supplements to, 260 ff., 274 f., 278, 308; amended, 307; also, 222, 242 n., 253, 255, 278 n., 282, 290, 295 n., 297 f., 320, 322 and n.
Texts, doctrinal: origin of practice, 103; used as sermon texts, 124; emergency selection of, 255 n; references to, 248, 251 and n., 254 f., 263, 289, 296 n., 302, 306, 351, 353.
Thrane, Amadaeus Paul, 236 and n.
Tillman, —, 330.
Tillofsen, Niels, 133 and n.
Toll, the Rev. Mr., 330.
Town and country congregations: many members in, favor Col-

onies, 221 f.; urged to remain aloof from struggle, 243 n.; also, 90, 122 n., 147, 149, 166, 168 n.
Trade acts, 237.
Trexler, Peter, 277.
Trombone choir, 109 n.
Trueman, Debora, 337.
Trumbull, Jonathan, 222 n.
Tryon, William, 113.
Tuscarawas (see also Muskingum), 175, 182.
Unitas Fratrum (Unity of the Brethren): origin of, 87; membership of, 87 n.; ethical emphasis in, 124; office of senior civilis in, 138 n.; attitude toward war, 216 f.; also, 281.
Unity's Elders' Conference: relation to provincial board, 169; also, 89, 143 n., 149, 184 n., 261.
Ville Joye, Pa., 202.
van Vleck, Abraham, 330.
van Vleck, John, 330.
van Vleck, Henry, 305 and n.
Vomiting, a remedy for sin, 351.
Wachovia, N.C. (also North Carolina): establishment of colony in, 91; origin of name, 91 n.; contribution to deficit, by, 146; asks for brides from North, 164 f.; also, 110, 111 n., 112 n., 113, 132 n., 159 and n., 164 and n., 165 n., 212 n., 264 n., 268, 281 ff., 286 n., 315 n., 316 and n., 331 n.
Wade, John, 331 and n.
Waldensians, 217.
Wallis, John George, 286 and n.
Walp, Jost, 297 f., 300.
War, Moravian attitude toward: no unanimous position, 215 f., 234, 247, 255 n., 264 n., 308 n.; military service did not result in exclusion, 216; views of Bohemian Brethren, 216 f.; individual conscience decides, 217; pacifism of majority, 217, 233 f.; Ettwein's position, 217, 219 ff.; Zinzendorf's attitude, 217 f., 255 f.; Spangenberg's attitude, 218 f., 218 n.; position of the Bethlehemites in Indian war, 219 n.; willing to share financial burden of war, 234 ff., 266; anxious for return of peace, 234; non-partisanship recommended, 235; members urged to abstain from arms, 235 f.; Moravians refuse to furnish recruits, 236 f., 262 f., 276 ff.; members in settlements forbidden to bear arms, 309 n.
War office, reply to Bethlehem petition, quoted, 256 f.
Warrant: form of, under Militia Act, 263; issued Emmaus members, 276 f.; issued Bethlehem, etc., 297; receipted by Ettwein, 298.
Warren, James, 237.
Warren, John, letter from, quoted, 251.
Washington, George: Ettwein's letter to, quoted, 269 ff.; letter to Ettwein from, quoted, 272; also, 133, 177 n., 194, 197, 222 and n., 223, 233, 250 ff., 256 ff., 260, 263, 271, 273, 310, 316.
Watchwords: origin of, 103 n.; used as texts for sermons, 124, 328, 330, 334, 355; allowed to direct action, 157 n.; emergency selection of, 255 n; references to, 103 n., 107, 239 f., 241 n., 246, 254, 257, 278, 280, 287, 292, 296 n., 302, 338, 369 and n.
von Watteville, Benigna, 108 n.
von Watteville, Frederick, 108 n.
von Watteville, John: biographical note, 108 n.; consecrates Ettwein bishop, 127; also, 108, 114, 150, 162, 165 n., 177, 179.
Way, Anna, 338.
Way, Ebenezer, 337.
Way, —, 337, 339.
Weber, —, 301.
Weinland, John, 295.
Weinmüller, —, 356 f.
Weiss, Lewis William: biographical note, 304 n.; draft of appeal to Assembly, quoted, 304 f.; also, 199, 297 n.
Welapachtschicken, al. Capt. Johnny, the Indian, 343 n., 346, 348.
Welhik Tuppeek—see Schönbrunn.
Wetzel, John: correspondence with George Bryan, 293 n.; also, 239 and n., 241 n., 256, 263, 276 f., 295, 301.
Wharton, Thomas, 265 n., 277, 292.
Whippoorwill, worshipped by Indians, 348.
White Eye, the Indian, 346.
Whitefield, George, 112 n., 330 n.
Widows' Society of Bethlehem, Pa., 143 and n.

Wilhelm, the Indian, 344 f., 347, 351, 355.
Williams, John, 305 n.
Williams, William, 259.
Willing, Thomas, 231.
Willock, the Rev. Mr., 352.
Wing, —, 332.
Winterbotham's *Account of America in 1795*, etc., 121 and n.
Woodford, William, 258, 263 f.
Wright, —, 332.
Wünsch, Frederick, 277.
Wyalusing—see Friedenshütten.
Wyclif, John, 216 n.
Wyoming, Pa., 133, 336.
York (Yorktown), Pa.; Moravian congregation at, 90 n.; statistics for 1774, 91 n.; also, 244, 259, 267, 283, 287 f., 310, 323, 330 n., 343 n., 357.
Zahm, Anna Regina—see Ettwein, Anna Regina Zahm.
Zahm, Matthew, 295.
Zeisberger, David: biographical note, 172 n.; importance of, 172, 183 and n., 184; active as translator, 195 and n.; 196 and n., 343 f.; contributes to Loskiel's history, 196 n.; hesitates to have Indians return to Ohio, 205 n.; imprisoned early in career, 375; also, 122 n., 175, 177, 181 f., 182 n., 189 and n., 190 n., 193, 196 n., 197 n., 207 n., 208, 211 f., 342, 345, 349 ff., 353 ff., 365, 373 n.
Zeisberger, David, Jr., 132 and n., 161.
Zeisberger, Susan Lecron, 183 and n.
Zeist, 106 and n., 146.
von Zinzendorf, Benigna—see von Watteville, Benigna.
von Zinzendorf, Erdmuth Dorothea, 104 and n., 106.
von Zinzendorf, Nicholas Lewis: active in renewal of Unitas Fratrum, 87 f.; controls policies of Church, 88 and n.; originates watchwords, 103 n.; biographical note, 104 n.; influenced by watchwords, 107; theology of, suspect in Savannah, 112; views on preaching, 123 and n.; develops Choir system, 139 f.; developes diaspora, 147 n.; use of lot, 156; concept of marriage, 163; segregation essential for ideals of, 167; early responsibility for Indian converts, 188; views on polygamy, 191 and n., views on folklore, 193; responsibility in financial stress, 200 and n.; attitude toward war, 217 f., 255 f.; daily readings by, 248 ff., 248 n.; on having peace with fellow men, 248 f.; on trust in providence, 249 f.; on abjuring civil authorities, 278 n.; also, 89, 91 n., 104 and n., 105 and n., 106 and n., 107, 108 n., 124, 140, 142, 164 n., 219, 323, 336.
Zizka, 216.
Zübli, the Rev. Mr., 112.

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